DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 194 759	CE 027 015

AUTHOR	Charters, Alexander N., Comp.
TITLE	Historical Perspectives of CSLEA. Volume 1. Notes and Essays: 1952-1959.
INSTITUTION	Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Brookline, Mass.; Syracuse Univ., N.Y. Publications Program in Continuing Education.
PUB DATE	May 80
NOTE	620p.; Parts of this document will not reproduce well due to light and broken print. For related documents see CE 027 016-020 and CE 027 264-265.
EDRS PRICE	MF03/PC25 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	*Adult Education; Adult Educators; Adult Learning; *Adult Programs; College Programs; Colleges; *Continuing Education; Course Evaluation; Curriculum Development; Discussion (Teaching Technique); Educational Television; Evening Programs; Extension Education; *General Education; *Higher Education; Middle Aged Adults; Needs Assessment; Program Descriptions; Psychological Needs; Student Needs; Teacher Education; Universities
IDENTIFIERS	*Center for the Study of Liberal Educ for Adults MA

ABSTRACT

This is the first of eight volumes consisting of series of publications of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults (CSLEA), such as Notes and Essays, Research Reports, Occasional Papers, and Conference Reports. These materials provide both theory and practice in the area of non-credit adult liberal education offered by colleges and universities. This volume contains numbers 1-9, 11-13, 15, 18-19, 22-26 in the series, Notes and Essays on Education for Adults, October 1952-November 1959. Titles include (1) The Pooling of Ignorance? Discussion in the College Classroom; (2) Significant Research in Adult Education; (3) Evaluating Courses, Not Students: An Evening College Experiment with Objective Devices; (4) Social Roles of the Middle-Aged Person: A Method of Identifying the Needs of Adults; (5) Television and the University; (6) A School for Optimists (3 papers); (7) The Liberation of the Adult; (8) Adult Education as a Time-Binding Process; (9) Mass Society and Liberal Education; (10) New Directions for University Adult Education: Institution-Centered (2 papers); (11) Psychological Needs of Adults; (12) Schooling for Maturity; (13) Professional Preparation of Adult Educators (symposium); (14) Liberal Education (discussion summary); (15) Especially for Adults; (16) Learning and Teaching through Discussion; (17) Pleasures in Learning (11 essays); (18) Major Trends in Higher Adult Education; (19) Liberal Education for Adults Re-examined: The Queens College Program; and (20) Higher Adult Education: Its Place and Its Function. (YLB)

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES OF CSLEA

Volume 1

Notes & Essays: 1952-1959

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Preface

In the two decades following World War II there was a surge of movement in the field of adult education. Among the exciting developments was the interest in liberal adult education which was encouraged and substantially supported by the Fund for Adult Education. The F.A.E. in return provided leadership and financial support to the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The primary concern of CSLEA was to provide leadership and specific assistance by resources to colleges and universities to assist them in developing non credit programs in the area of liberal education for adults. During the period the staff initiated and often conducted many seminars and workshops. They also provided consultative services to colleges and universities as they developed programs in liberal education for adults.

Another contribution was the publication of series such as Notes & Essays, Reports, and Occasional Papers. The publications are generally accepted by educators of adults -- nationally and internationally -- as being some of the finest in terms of both theory and practice.

Many publications are now out-of-print and indeed in some cases even our copy is difficult to locate. The requests for copies of CSLEA and other statements are frequently received. Accordingly copies of these documents have been collected and compiled into several volumes. A copy of each volume is being sent to ERIC for their distribution. In this way these valuable publications may be made available to practitioners as well as researchers in adult and continuing education.

Mr. Ralph Brockett and Mrs. B. J. Vaughn have been particularly helpful and diligent in preparing these volumes.

Alexander N. Charters

May, 1980

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ON

EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

THE POOLING OF IGNORANCE?
Discussion in the College Classroom

Russell F. W. Smith

NUMBER 1

October, 1952

Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults
940 East 58th Street Chicago 37, Illinois

When It Comes to the Pooling of Ignorance....

An irascible college teacher has declared that discussion is no good. "The pooling of ignorance, "he calls it. Yet, if you are reading this, you can assume that you are a guinea pig; you are enrolled in a class which is committed to experimenting with discussion. This note was sent to your instructor with a warning that he had better not hand it out to you if he had no use for discussion in the classroom.

Who's a Guinea Pig?

This is one of five courses prepared by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The five courses--American Tradition, Analytical Reading, Current Issues in International Relations, Group Living, and Invitation to Literature--were offered by a dozen colleges last spring as an experiment in education designed particularly for evening college students.

The materials for the courses were intended to test a number of hypotheses, especially (1) that mature people, sharing their insights and opinions through discussion, will have profitable and educational experiences and (2) that these people will find a syllabus or study guide, consisting chiefly of thought-provoking questions about the readings in the course, helpful in preparing for the discussion.

As part of the experiment of last spring's courses, one or more tape-recordings or stenographic transcriptions were taken of meetings of almost all the courses given and more than one-fourth of the students enrolled, as well as all the instructors, were interviewed to discover their opinions of the course materials and of the class meetings.

On the whole, that the experimental courses succeeded in some degree is suggested by the fact that all the colleges giving courses last spring expect to give them this fall and a number of additional colleges have also announced the courses.

The tape-recordings and the faculty and student interviews show a number of interesting things about last spring's class meetings. Interviews confirmed the impression to be gathered from tape-recordings that in many of the classes, little if any class-time was spent on topics raised in the syllabi or study guides. Instructors and students alike, however, generally agreed that the syllabi or study guides were useful to the classes, although criticisms of various parts or details of them were by no means infrequent. General or detailed criticism or the materials from instructors and students using them this year are invited. They should be addressed to the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 940 East 58th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

Value of Discussion

Although instructors and students generally agreed on the value of having a syllabus or study guide of the kind supplied for this course, their reactions to experimenting with discussion as the principal class activity were quite mixed. According to class transcriptions and interviews, some classes had discussions that were very successful both in terms of what was said and thought about the subject matter and in terms of how people felt about the discussion. Other classes were much less successful.

Still others, because of the instructor's or the class's prejudgment that discussion is an unsatisfactory method of learning, held no discussions at all.

The two chief causes of difficulty in carrying on discussion appear to have been general misgivings about the value of discussion and disagreement about what discussion is.

The value of discussion is frequently taken for granted by people who set up adult education programs outside the colleges (adult high schools, Americanization programs, hobby and handicraft courses, world affairs forums, etc.) They merely describe discussion as peculiarly appropriate to mature students, as, for example, Stanley E. Sworder does in *Handbook for Teachers of Adults*:

> The adult student does not come as a spectator or to be part of an audience. He wants demonstration, illustration, and explanation, but he also wants to work things out for himself....One of the great advantages of discussion methods of instruction is that the students must take an active part. While adults want participation in class activity, especially in the field of their particular interest, many of them will not take the initiative in participating.[1]

Interviews with students who took the Center's courses last spring did show that most students had a tendency to respond favorably to discussion. They found it "interesting to hear other people's points of view" and liked "the pleasant, informal atmosphere." But many shared with some of the instructors a suspicion that discussion "wastes time. You can't cover everything the way you should. Maybe lectures, even if they're less fun, are the most efficient way to get things across."

People who argued for the efficiency of discussion often used arguments like that of Irving J. Lee, who describes the results of having his public speaking students write summaries of each others speeches:

> The precis assignment was invariably troublesome. Each listener would be asked to write in his own words a fifty-word abstract or summary of what a speaker said. Only rarely would the speaker (after study of the abstracts) report that more than 25% of the class adequately "got it."[2]

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[1] *Bulletin of the California State Department of Education*, Vol. XX, No. 4 (May, 1951). This pamphlet is particularly worth looking at for advice on "effective teaching aids" and for its description of the different roles people must take in successful discussions. William E. Utterback's pamphlet *Decision through Discussion*, third edition (New York: Rinehart, 1951), although it is subtitled "A Manual for Group Leaders," contains useful advice on preparing for and holding discussions. You should find it helpful to read, especially early in the course.

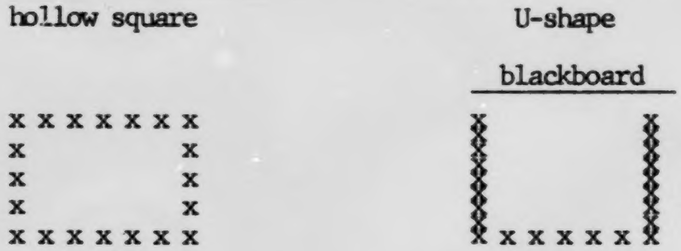
[2] *How to Talk with People* (New York: Harper, 1952). Although this book is based mostly on staff, board and committee meetings in private businesses, military organizations, and community agencies, most of what it says will apply equally well to class discussions. It is particularly valuable for what it has to say concerning difficulties in having successful discussion and what to do about it.

Whether discussion or lecture is the better means of instruction in a college course is not a question that can be answered by the experience of the Center's courses last spring. It probably is a false question anyhow: there are as many best means of instruction as there are classes with different problems and situations. Last spring's experiment did, however, suggest some of the reasons why particular discussions fail.

Troubles with Discussion

Just as the value of discussion consists in people's sharing their different insights and opinions, so the troubles with discussion are mostly caused by people's failure to communicate successfully. In last spring's courses some of these failures were apparently due to inconvenient physical settings for discussion, others to individual or group awkwardness in communicating.

1. The conventional classroom is not arranged for discussion. Rows of chairs facing a teacher's desk at the front of the room inhibit discussion because people talk more freely and easily when they see each other. The most successful discussions took place in rooms arranged for discussion. These arrangements varied from sitting around a single large table or block of tables to sitting in movable chairs (with writing arms) arranged in a circle, hollow square, or U-shape. Not all colleges have rooms with conference tables, but rooms with movable chairs can be found everywhere.



The U-shape is, of course, to be preferred wherever instructor or students are likely to use the blackboard for diagrams, outlines, etc.

Discussion is helped not only by people seeing each other, but also by their knowing something of each other. In some of the classes, at the first meeting class members, starting with the instructor to break the ice, took turns telling about themselves and their backgrounds so that what they said would be more easily understood and so that questions appropriate to their particular backgrounds could be addressed to them by other members of the class in later discussions. A number of classes used name-cards (with first or last names according to the degree of formality or informality the class wanted) placed on tables or chair-arms in front of each class member until they were no longer needed.

2. People are not used to discussion in the classroom. Most people, instructors and students alike, are not used to discussion in the classroom. An instructor may talk too much of the time or too little. Students may be over-timid, afraid to expose their opinions, or over-suggestive, inclined to hog the discussion and choke off competition by putting emotional labels on other people's statements: "That's just what I'd expect a capitalist, Communist, housewife, teacher, etc. to say." Unless

the class develops the feeling of being a group of friends interested in one another's ideas, discussion is likely to be stiff and unsatisfactory.

Sometimes this feeling comes about quite naturally without any special efforts (name-cards, getting acquainted at the first class, having dinner together before class or coffee afterwards are among the things that, intentionally or unintentionally, produce this feeling). Several classes last spring found it helpful to appoint an "observer" for each class, a person whose responsibility it was to point out, during class or in a report at the end of class, what difficulties seemed to be interfering with discussion and to ask what could be done about them.

3. People talk past one another. For various reasons people who take part in discussions often fail to understand one another. This is not just the failure of people to express themselves accurately, clearly, and simply, and it can not be "cured" by insisting on people's "defining their terms," and "learning how to talk." It is also the failure of people to understand what they have heard. Discussions go well when people learn to check their understanding of what has been said before they agree or disagree with it. Attempting to restate someone else's view in order to see whether you have understood it is an invaluable exercise in discussion. Phrases like "I am not sure I understood. Do you mean...?" or "Let me see if I understood you. You said that...?" can avert many potential misunderstandings--unless thay are asked sarcastically. Soft questions turn away wrath.

An important function of the chairman or leader of your class's discussion (not necessarily the instructor) or of the observer if your class decides to have one can be to point out--especially by asking questions--the occasions when people are"talking past one another."

4. People contradict each other. Discussions oftem turn into wrangles because people contradict one another or remain superficial and dull because people are afraid to contradict one another. The questions asked in the syllabus of this course and the reading done for it raise discussion over matters of opinion. Discussion of matters of fact is a waste of time. It is unprofitable to discuss what and author wrote on page 58, for example, if you can find out by looking; it may, however, be quite profitable to discuss what he meant or why he wrote it. Discussions over matters of opinion become heated arguments whenever a person feels that his opinion, by being contradicted, has been attacked. What starts as a session of sweet reasoning can soon turn into a t'is-t'ain't-you're-another.

With the help of an observer or discussion leader, a discussion group can learn to remove these emotional blocks to discussion. You can become aware of the fact that you are contradicted not because someone else is cantankerous or stupid but because he is generalizing from his experience not yours or because you and he emphasize different aspects of a problem. Contradictions are resolved or at least cooled off when their source os looked for. What is more, contradictions will occur less often as people learn to qualify or explain their assertions as they are made.

5. People are answer-conscious. One of the reasons parliamentary procedure is often dull and fails to get at the problems it should is that it encourages people to be solution-conscious rather than problem-conscious. Somebody proposes an action. Duly seconded, the action is debated, often without any discussion of the problem the action is addressed to. In much the same way, in some classes last spring both instructors and students were "answer-conscious," paying so much attention to the

answers that they were making to the questions they asked one another or found in the syllabus that they paid little attention the the problems the questions should have thrown light upon.

A problem has not been discussed well when one member of the class offers an answer or a solution that is acceptable to another one (even if he is the instructor). It has been well discussed when apparently all the members of the class *understand the answer or alternative answers*. That is one of the reasons why discussion ordinarily goes at a much slower pace than lecturing; it covers less ground more thoroughly.

One of the most important things to be decided before each class meeting therefore is what ground is to be covered. This decision, made by the instructor or by a class member who has planned ahead, can be explained at the end of the previous class meeting as a part of the assignment. In classes which develop such a system of briefing, neither the discussion leader nor the observer needs to take much class time in attempts to slow or hasten the pace of the discussion.

6. *Discussants are not self-conscious*. People are often so self-conscious that they are handicapped in discussion but most people are not sufficiently self-conscious of their behavior as participants in a discussion. In interviews last spring, some instructors as well as students spoke of their feeling uncertain how to prepare for a discussion. Tape-recordings suggested also that sometimes participants in the discussion would have been startled to see how their behavior hampered or aided group discussion.

If your class spends some of its first meeting considering how to organize its discussions and decides to adopt some of the devices (such as briefing, using an observer, etc.) suggested by the practices of other classes, it will become more aware of its behavior as a group. Additional devices it might consider would include listening to or analyzing (perhaps with the help of a "resource person" experienced in group discussion or group dynamics) a tape-recording of one of its meetings or developing an occasional or regular use of some systematic self-evaluation process (a report of how the meeting looked to the observer or to a visiting expert, the discussion of "post-meeting reaction" slips filled out by each member of the class pointing out what he thought good or bad about the night's discussion, etc.)

Patterns of Discussion

One of the reasons why instructors and students interviewed last spring felt uncertain what discussion "really is" is that different people, sometimes in the same group, mean quite different things when they talk about "discussion." That is why some classes found it useful to spend time, particularly at the beginning of the semester, planning or organizing their discussion and also concerned themselves with observers, recorders, and self-evaluation devices.

In organizing and evaluating its own discussion, your class may find it helpful to consider a rough classification of the kinds of discussion found in classes last spring. Although described here separately, these kinds of discussion are seldom found simonpure and often represent class activity that goes on for only a few minutes, not for whole class periods. Each of these types of discussion has its demerits and merits worth consideration. These types of discussion, caught at their unhappiest moments, might be cynically described as the punctuated lecture, the disguised lecture, the firing squad, the third degree, fill-in-the-blanks, the bull-session, and the totalitarian discussion. Yet each is a type of activity that might be found in a good discussion.

1. The Punctuated Lecture. Horrible example: the lecturer reads from his notes for twenty minutes, looks up, asks "Are there any questions?", and reads from his notes for the rest of the period. In a good discussion, the instructor or a visiting expert may of course give a lecture or a demonstration (usually not for the whole period) that puts before the group the data necessary for discussion.

2. The Disguised Lecture. Horrible: informed by the dean or the class that he must not lecture, the lecturer feebly imitates the Socratic method by asking rhetorical questions which he answers. For a good example of Socratic discussion, read the Platonic dialogues.

3. The Firing Squad. Horrible: like a radio-quizmaster gone mad, the instructor lines the class up against the wall and fires isolated questions at them. In a good discussion, as in a quiz-session, the discussion leader may ask a short series of questions to see whether a particular problem has been completely understood or whether the data for discussion are clear.

4. The Third-Degree. Horrible: like a rising young district attorney, the instructor pins down the class members one at a time, examines them under a microscope, and smiles. In a good discussion, the discussion leader or another member of the class may get a class to look for the source of a heated controversy by finding out what lies behind the contradictory opinions expressed by two or more members of the class.

5. Fill-in-the-Blanks. Horrible: as mechanically as a short-answer objective examination, the instructor lectures, pauses occasionally to omit a key word, waits while the class members chant alternatives, announces the key word, and proceeds. In a good discussion, the instructor may sometimes find it desirable to devise a means of giving the class a chance to check their ability to apply the basic technical terms they have been using or will be using in their discussion.

6. The Bull-Session. Horrible: afraid to get into the discussion lest he influence somebody, the discussion leader lets the discussion wander off in all directions. In a good discussion, a discussion leader familiar with "non-directive" techniques may for a time lead the class to inquire into its own interests.

7. The Totalitarian Discussion. Horrible: the discussion leader, by leading questions, interruptions, postponements, and re-interpretations, gets out of the class exactly the discussion he intended. In a good discussion, the discussion leader will ordinarily conduct a "planned" or "structured" discussion, taking up the points or problems decided on, permitting relevant excursions, but keeping the discussion from becoming tangential and shapeless.

Good discussion, in other words, is at once planned and flexible. It uses, when it is appropriate, any methods, from the formal lecture to the unstructured bull-session. In planning discussion, it is often useful to consider the roles which people play in a discussion, so that a class can be organized to hold the kind of discussion it finds satisfactory.

Roles in Discussion

On the basis of class organizations revealed in interviews and tape-recordings of classes last spring, it is possible to describe what goes on in a good discussion group in terms of "roles" which people play, consciously or unconsciously, planned or unplanned. For convenience these roles may be labelled chairman, observer, recorder, resource person, briefer, discussant.

1. Chairman. The role of chairman is primarily to keep the discussion alive and relevant. He is concerned with the continuity of the discussion, performing a variety of functions (whenever no one else in the class does so, consciously or unconsciously) such as raising issues, addressing questions to inactive members of the class, asking for clarification of remarks, seeking class members' responses to other members' remarks, etc. The role of chairman or discussion leader is usually played by the instructor, but not necessarily. Two classes last spring experimented with revolving chairmen; after the first few classes, which were conducted by the instructor, the job of leading a night's discussion was taken up by each member of the class in turn.

2. Observer. The role of observer is not to criticize or to advise (not to tell anyone that he is wrong when he says, etc., not to tell the group that it should do so and so), but to aid the group's discussion in much the same way a script girl, by watching and noting everything that happens, helps in movie production. He watches for signs of difficulties with discussion, noting when he thinks people are talking past one another, are too answer-conscious, etc. In one class, the observer pointed out these difficulties as they arose. In another he reported his observations at the end of the evening's discussion. The role of observer is probably best assumed for only one class, if it is the responsibility of a student, because it interferes with normal participation in the discussion. Some classes may find it practicable to use a resource person as an observer.

3. Recorder. The role of recorder or reporter or summarizer may well be defined differently by different classes. Like the observer, he is concerned with watching the discussion, but his report, at the end of the class or at the beginning of the next class, is about the subject of the discussion, rather than about the discussion process. This function is sometimes performed by the instructor, but can profitably assigned to students because of the valuable learning experience it affords.

4. Resource person. The role of a resource person is that of the expert who can be expected to supply relevant data for the discussion. The role is, of course, the primary one of the instructor where other members of the class lead the discussion. On particular problems, however, a class can sometimes find among its own members or among outside experts known to the instructor or to the class additional resource persons who can be called upon. A resource person should be invited to volunteer information or opinions, as well as to answer questions. He should not be made to feel like a proper Victorian child, speaking only when spoken to.

5. Briefer. The role of "briefer" is to make suggestions at the end of one class that will help class members to prepare for the next class's discussion. The role, which may be played by the instructor or by a student or students in consultation with the instructor, may well call for planning special class activities, obtaining additional resource persons, etc., as well as planning what is to be done with the assignment for the next class.

6. Discussant. The role of discussant is that of every member of the class, including the instructor, except possibly the observer. He expresses his own opinions and inquires into other people's, brings his own experiences to bear on the problems discussed and helps others to do so, acts at times like a chairman, an observer, a recorder, a resource person, a briefer. How can he best do all these things? That's a good question. If this note about the course has sounded knowledgeable or dogmatic about questions concerning discussion, be skeptical about it. Change its "always"'s to "sometimes"'s and deny its "perhaps"'s. And then, if you will, write the Center what you have learned about discussion.

NOTES & ESSAYS

ON

EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

SIGNIFICANT RESEARCH IN ADULT EDUCATION:

Report to the Atlanta Convention of the
Association of University Evening Colleges

Orville H. Palmer, Director

Evening Division, Marquette University

Number 2
November, 1952

Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults
940 East 58th Streeet, Chicago 37, Illinois

Established by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education
as an agency of the Association of University Evening Colleges

Mr. Chairman--Members of the Association of University Evening Colleges,

As one reviews the proceedings of the Association of University Evening Colleges, it is easy to recognize that, as an Association, we are constantly evaluating our practices, policies, and progress.

Paul L. Essert, in his book, CREATIVE LEADERSHIP IN ADULT EDUCATION, says "Creative leadership of adult education challenges the imagination of adults to invent new institutional forms or revitalize existing institutional procedures that will engender and maintain good will, understanding and decency in human relationships." (Page 13) A tool which we can use and have used in taking our place among other agencies contributing to the development of adult education is research. Every person in this audience at least once and probably many times has resorted to a questionnaire to find out what others are doing or how others think. In fact, this has become such a common practice that it frequently fails to produce significant results since many of us have a rather will developed "Circular file technique" in disposing of questionnaires. Perhaps that is why the committee in selecting the topic assigned to me used the term "Significant Research."

In reviewing the available research studies, I have placed no limitation on the agency conducting them. Adult education is being carried on by public secondary schools, Junior Colleges, YMCA's, YWCA's, Womens' Clubs, Universities, etc. Each has conducted research, much of it overlapping, just as each agency is finding itself in direct competition with each other agency for the life blood of its existence, the adult student. If we, at the collegiate level, are to continue to justify our existence in the field of adult education it is time for us to determine where our contribution fits into the whole picture. Dr. Ida Brown commented on this in her presentation yesterday. It was dealt with in questions afterward, and will be in the proposed workshop to be conducted by the Center for Liberal Education.

That the period from 1927 through 1935 was extremely productive in studies for adults is further evidence of our desire to identify our contribution to Adult Education. It is impossible for me to review for you all the studies which have been conducted concerning adult education. I have, therefore, defined my job as that of reporting significant studies. You can follow up on those which are of value to you in the area of Adult Life; the Cleveland Conference for Educational Cooperation on the value of a Community Study; the Buffalo Education Council; the Brooklyn Conference on Adult Education providing data on racial, industrial, and social groups and their interests; the National Council of the YMCA, on Adult Education Needs and Interests in Small Cities; Los Angeles, on the use of forums and radio in Adult Education; the YWCA, on the Education Needs of Young Business Women.

Two points are characteristic of these reports on research. First, most studies were of a locality and by some organization other than a University. Second, they were then, as we are now, interested in the needs of those they hoped to serve.

During this same period, 1927-1935, Universities made a contribution through a series of studies regarding the ability of adults to benefit from education. "A Study of Reading Achievement" from the University of Chicago; College Aptitude of Adult Students from the University of Minnesota, and a definition of the Function of the Junior College in Adult Education from the University of California are typical of studies completed by college faculty members.

As might be expected, during the war years and immediately following World War II, everyone was so busy fitting the veteran into the existing programs that little time was available for study and research. That is a very serious charge against us, for in reality it says that when our enrollments are high we tend to sit placidly back, accept them, force them into the existing mold and announce a successful adult education program. It was not until 1947, '48, and '49 that there developed an increased interest in the needs of adults for education. Just as necessity is the mother of invention, perhaps it is hunger that drives us to research. The pattern in this current period is much the same as in that of the 1930's. In 1947 and 1948, a large number of localized studies were made. A review of the proceedings of this Association will reveal that most of us have made some type of localized study within the past five years. Two of these studies were reported before the Association. In 1950, Ralph Yeager reported on a survey of 4098 persons determining the characteristics and motives of evening college students attending the University of Cincinnati and in 1951 Nathan Kohn reported on his study of evening school follow-up of students who dropped out of school at Washington University in St. Louis. More recently we have reports of studies being made of Teaching Methods, of vocational guidance needs, of curriculum changes and of new approaches to meeting the educational needs of adults. Many of these studies are being conducted either areawise or nationally and by associations which will tend to reduce the duplications of cost in money and effort, make the results available to larger groups, and probably be somewhat more valid.

I do not in any way wish to depreciate the value of work done for a locality to improve its program in Adult education. However, it seems that I should concentrate on those studies which are of general interest. First, I should like to report some of these studies.

Certainly one study which is basic for all was completed and reported by E.L. Thorndike, as "Psychological Studies of Adult Education." It was completed about 1927 and is a study of the learning process at various age levels. Information gleaned from this report should be worth a great deal in planning new courses for adults, and in developing better teaching methods among our Evening Division instructors.

David Nicholson, personnel director for Sunnon Products Company completed a study of "Why Adults Attend School." It covered students in City College of New York, Washington University in St. Louis, Public Evening Schools in Minneapolis and Denver, and San Jose State College in California. This study was reported at this Association's meeting in 1948, in the Adult Education Bulletin for August, 1949. It is of wide enough scope to be worth much to anyone developing an adult education program.

Homer Kempfer of the Office of Education, Federal Secruity Agency, has completed a study of Adult Education activities of the Public Schools in which he classifies the type of adult education being conducted, lists the places in which such activities are being held, reports enrollments in adult education activities and evaluates the use of Advisory Committees in the conduct of a program. It is a relatively broad study and, while it is directly based on the public school as the agency for adult education, the principles and practices developed are adaptable to all participating.

Harold H. Punke in his study of "Community Uses of Public School Facilities" reported in 1951, has completed an analysis of judicial opinions regarding community uses of public school facilities. This is likely to be of real value for tax supported institutions contemplating new and unestablished programs.

Paul L. Essert, Professor of Education and Executive Officer of the Institute on Adult Education of the Teachers College at Columbia conducted some 400 individual interviews in 75 localities in 38 states in an effort to answer the question, "What can each institution or agency do best, without losing its institutional uniqueness, to bring about improvements of its present methods of broadening and deepening the quality of the adult experience? What specific plans and practices are there that would indicate trends toward a clarification of the role of institutions in developing education for essential experiences for maturing adulthood?"

The result of this study are incorporated in a book titled LEADERSHIP IN ADULT EDUCATION by Paul L. Essert. It is one of the most challenging books I read during the preparation of this paper.

Richard A. Mumma, of Johns Hopkins University, a member of this Association, reported in the August, 1950 Adult Education Bulletin on "Trends in Adult Education offerings"; in October, 1950, The Public School Administrator; and in February 1951, "Barriers to the development of an Adult Education Program."

Turning now to a review of research concerning certain problems of especial interest to us, I should like to suggest several studies worthy of your consideration.

Throughout the years we have certainly been basically interested in "Why Adults attend school" and its corollary "Why adults drop out of school."

Characteristics and motives of evening college students at the University of Cincinnati by Ralph Yeager was reported at the 1950 meeting of this Association.

Who seeks adult education and why, by Stephen R. Deane of the University of Maryland, was based on the characteristics of those who attend adult classes. This was reported in the October, 1950, issue of Adult Education.

"An Extension Division Evaluates Its Program" was a study of how students found out about the program at Rochester Institute of Technology and what they thought about the program on its completion. It was made by Burton Stratton and Lawrence Lipsitt and was reported in the December, 1948, Adult Education Bulletin.

John Waters of Boston University and John Dyer of Tulane reported on a study made among the members of this Association at the 1950 annual meeting. This study covered Methods of Recruiting Students for Evening Colleges and the procedures for introducing new courses.

Robert Love, of the City College of New York, being the individualist that he is, replied to my October inquiry letter by saying that they have underway a study of "Why Adults do not Attend Evening Classes." He may wish to elaborate on this study during the discussion session this morning.

We, of course, should recognize that most valuable report of Nathan Kohn's at our last year's meeting on his follow-up of night school drop-outs at University College at Washington University. He wrote me saying that they were continuing this study during the current year.

At the 1951 meeting of this Association the members approved of cooperating with the National University Extension Association in sponsoring a study by Byron F. Laird of Indiana University to survey and analyze 800 terminal course offerings in 192 institutions. A preliminary report on this study was sent to me. It is quite evident that this will be a most meaningful study and should contribute much to our thinking and planning as we progress in the area of adult education. Mr. Laird is here today and may wish to comment briefly on his progress. He expects to complete the table and graphs for the study in November and to complete the writing of the study by spring. Each participating institution will receive a mimeographed summary by next September.

The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults has just announced a study for the Chicago-Milwaukee area, of those adults who did not re-enter evening colleges this year after being in attendance last year. Each participating school is submitting 100 names of students who dropped out. I have not seen the questionnaire to be used. However, I am certain that the objective will be to determine what there was in the program which did not bring about a desire for further attendance.

I believe this study is significant for several reasons. It is being conducted by an agency outside of the schools whose students are being questioned. It is an area study rather than one concerning an individual school. Since it is being conducted by an agency of this Association the results should be available to all members and the technique once established might well develop into other area studies. We are all interested in why adults attend school. With few exceptions most studies were localized.

A second area in which a number of studies have been made is that of improving methods of teaching in Adult Education. This is indicative of the fact that a problem exists and that we should like to arrive at its solution. Two group meetings yesterday were devoted to this problem.

Alvin Zander has studied "Student Motives and Teaching in Adult Education" in an attempt to explore the nature of problems in teaching adults. It was reported in the University of Michigan School of Education Bulletin in April, 1951.

"Effective Methods in Adult Education," a statement of incentives for adult learning published by North Carolina State College is a report of a study made by the Southern Regional Workshop for Agricultural Extension Specialists in 1947.

Mr. John Spence, a graduate student at Ohio State University, has completed a study during the summer of 1952. Ninety-six colleges and universities were surveyed. This was an attempt to determine what opportunities are available for training in Adult Education, including courses, seminars, workshops, and institutes. It disclosed that 12 institutions are granting Ph. D's in Adult Education.

The Universities of Louisville and Indiana are developing a pilot study on the improvement of instruction for students of the Evening College. This includes in-service training, the observation and evaluation of present teaching methods to discover the basic features of effective teaching of adults. This study is also being carried out under the direction of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

Closely allied to studies on teaching methods are a series of studies on Counselling and Guidance of Adults prepared by Lawrence P. Blum and Ben A. Sullivan of the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. The first, published in Occupation in April, 1951, was a "Study of Student Personnel Services at College and University Day and Evening Schools." This study covered schools which were members of this association.

This was followed by another study, "Identifying Problems of Adults in Evening Schools," the results of which will be published in The American Personnel and Guidance Journal.

Both studies are worth the attention of directors of Adult Education who are interested in building a program that will meet the needs of its adult students. A third area of interest is that of administrative practices.

At the 1951 meeting of this association, James A. Byrne of Loyola University, in Chicago, reported on a study of the administrative practices of evening colleges. This again was a study in which each of us participated and was on a problem of definite interest to us. However, if you will recall the findings, the data reveals no uniform administrative practice among colleges. Mr. Byrne has continued his study. Whether or not he will come up with a pattern of administration which is best for the successful evening college, I do not know. A similar study was the Neuffer Report before this Association in 1950.

Jarvis M. Finley and Ely Chertook of the University of Washington have completed a study of the vocational characteristics and academic practices in evening class programs of 32 urban institutions. This provides a brief comprehensive summary of existing practices. Perhaps Dean Chamberlain will want to comment further on this study.

Each of us received during the past week the case study of nine institutions on the Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College. This has been completed by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

On the brief review possible in the short time it has been available it is quite evident that this could well become a manual to aid in the establishing of an Evening Division of Adult Education as a part of a college or university. This study was well discussed yesterday and will get further attention on Thursday.

As I worked in preparation of this paper, it seemed to me that a great mass of research has been conducted. Rather, I should say, a great mass of data has been collected. Some of the same facts have been gathered several times. In answer to the question in my letter to you on October 1, "What suggestions do you have for research which might be carried out for the benefit of the Evening College" many suggested the need to make studies in those same areas in which dozens have now been made.

One conclusion that might then be drawn is that plenty of studies have been made in certain areas of adult education, both by our own members and by members of other associations. However, the results of the studies made by individuals are not widely publicized nor are they easily accessible to others needing aid in a problem. It appears, therefore, that the association might well serve its members in two or three ways.

I. Serve as a clearing house for information on existing research:

1. Perhaps as association members we should agree to file in a central location one or more copies of any studies which we as individual members complete.
2. If a member feels the need for information regarding some problem confronting him, he should refer to the person or committee in charge of the file or available studies to determine whether or not a duplicate study is already complete.
3. If a member receives a questionnaire regarding evening college practices he should refer the inquiry to the file of available studies.
4. Those who have the need for a study that involves circulating the membership of this association might well secure the approval of the executive committee of the association. Such approval would imply that in return for our cooperation a complete report of the study would become a part of our file.

II. We might well study those areas in which there appears to be need of research for the continued growth of Adult Education through the evening college and cooperatively embark on some wide research that would be carefully planned and carried through to a conclusion that produced not only a maze of statistics but suggestions for a course of action also. I am not alone in this feeling. Dean Reals, of Washington University in St. Louis, at the faculty relationships discussion group made a similar suggestion as a mechanism to accelerate the solution to these perennial problems which we talk about from year to year.

III. This association when acting as a unit might well lend the significance and prestige to such research so that it could secure funds that would free those participating from other responsibilities and make possible unhampered study to produce research from which all could benefit.

These suggestions are made with the recognition that we have the machinery for just such a program. In fact, we may well be moving in that direction now. Two years ago the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults was established by this association on a grant from the Ford Foundation. In this paper, I have referred to those projects being conducted under the supervision of the center. It, under the supervision of the present committee, could serve to determine what research should be conducted for the benefit of adult education at the collegiate level. It has been proposed that the constitution be amended to establish the office of an executive secretary whose term would be three years and who could be re-elected. In return for the significant salary proposed, the executive secretary may serve as a depository for studies carried on under the jurisdiction of or authorized by this association. This would provide a central place to which we could direct inquiries on available data. Under such a program we might become participants in many more truly research projects with conclusions that would aid each of us in our efforts to develop a satisfactory evening program, and reduce the number of statistical gathering projects. Research in Adult Education is being conducted. This in no way envisions curtailing of individual research but is designed to broaden its scope and to make it more available to members of this association. The principal areas of research are:

1. Why adults attend school and what are their needs?

2. How can instruction of adults be improved?

3. What is the administrative set-up for adult education programs?

I have enumerated for you as many studies in each area as I was able to find which in my opinion provided significant information. I have reported the source of the publication of either the entire report or a significant summary.

Finally, it seems that really significant research could be promoted still further by this Association through its Center and the Committee which supervises it and through the office of the executive secretary if created.

In one month of preparation and a thirty minute paper, I have tried to review for you years of work by men and women interested in Adult Education. I recognize the inadequacy of this paper. Perhaps that is why I've prepared some machinery to make this vast wealth of material more available to you than it was to me.

I

Administrative Practices

Current Administrative Practices in Evening Colleges	James A. Byrne Loyola University Chicago, Illinois	1951 Proceedings, Ass'n of University Evening Colleges
Administrative Policies and Procedures at University Evening Colleges	Frank R. Neuffer University of Cincinnati	1950 Proceedings AUEC
Locational Characteristics & Academic Practices in Evening Class Programs	J. M. Finley Ely Chertook U. of Washington	
Planning the Community School	Engelhardt and Engelhardt	American Association for Adult Education
Creative Leadership in Adult Education	Paul L. Essert	
Community Uses of Public School Facilities	Harold H. Punke	Kings Crown Press Columbia University
Public School Administrator and Adult Education	Richard A. Mumma Johns Hopkins University	Adult Education October, 1950
Barriers to the Development of an Adult Education Program	Richard A. Mumma Johns Hopkins University	Adult Education February, 1951
Practices of Business Firms in the Seattle Area in Matter of Granting Tuition Refunds to Evening Division Students		University of Washington
Adult Education Activities	Homer Kempfer	Office of Education Federal Security Agency
History of Extension Class Acivities at University of Kansas	Frank Stockton University of Kansas	
Agencies of Adult Education		Review of Educational Research, June, 1950

Handbook of Adult Education in the United States	Mary L. Ely	
A Formula for Measuring Adult Education Programs		Adult Education Bulletin, October, 1948
Financing Adult Education in Selected Schools and Community Colleges	Homer Kempfer William Wood	Office of Education Federal Security Agency
Analysis of Students Carrying Fulltime Loads in Night School	Nathan Kohn Washington University St. Louis	1952 Proceedings AUEC
Using an Urban College's Alumni Association as a Medium for Adult Education	Robert Ahrens Roosevelt College Chicago, Illinois	Incomplete
A Study of Urban Public School Adult Education Programs		Division of Adult Education Service N.E.A.
A Survey of Non-Degree Programs in Ohio Colleges	Newton Rochte	Bureau of Special and Adult Education, Ohio State University

II

Guidance and Counselling

Student Personnel Services at Colleges and Universities	L. P. Blum B. A. Sullivan	Occupation April, 1951
Affiliated Day and Evening Schools	University of Wisconsin Milwaukee, Wisconsin	
Identifying Problems of Adults in Evening Schools	L. P. Blum, B. A. Sullivan, J. David O'Day U. of Wisconsin Milwaukee, Wisconsin	American Guidance & Personnel Journal Spring, 1953
University Extension Counselling Services	Robert Headley University of California Berkeley, California	
Identifying Educational Needs of Adults	Homer Kempfer	Office of Education Federal Security Agency
Trends on Postwar Adult Education		Adult Education Journal, Jan., 1946
Student Participation in Out-of-Class Activities	G. Nick Paster Roosevelt College	Incomplete

II

Need for Adult Education

Who Seeks Adult Education and Why	Stephen R. Deane University of Maryland	Adult Education October, 1950
Characteristics and Motives of Evening College Students	Ralph Yeager University of Cincinnati	1950 Proceedings AUEC
An Extension Division Evaluates Its Program	Burton Stratton Lawrence Lipsitt Rochester Institute of Technology	Adult Education Bulletin December, 1948
Recruiting Students for Evening Colleges and Introducing New Courses	John Waters Boston University John Dyer Tulane University	1950 Proceedings AUEC
Why Adults Do Not Attend Evening Classes	Robert Love City College of New York	Incomplete
Follow-up of Drop-outs of Night School Students	Nathan Kohn Washington University St. Louis	1951 Proceedings AUEC
Trends in Adult Education Offerings	Richard A. Mumma Johns Hopkins University	Adult Education Bulletin August, 1950
Why Adults Attend School	David Nicholson Personnel Director Sunnen Products Co.	Adult Education Bulletin August, 1949
Research Needs in Adult Education	Robin J. Maacke Eastern Oregon College LaGrande, Oregon	
How Education Can Help Communities Help Themselves		Extension Division of the University of Virginia
How Much Adult Education Do 444 School Programs Provide?		School and Society January 12, 1953
Graduate Work in Evening Colleges	Russell Cansler Northwestern University	1952 Proceedings AUEC

IV

Teaching Methods

Student Motives and Teaching Methods	Alvin Zander University of Michigan	University of Michigan, School of Education Bulletin April, 1951
Effective Methods in Adult Education	Report of Southern Regional Workshop for Agricultural Extension Specialists	North Carolina State College, 1947
Pilot Study on Improvement of Instruction for Students of the Evening College	University of Louisville University of Indiana Center for Study of Lib. Education for Adults	Incomplete
Psychological Studies of Adult Education	E.L. Thorndike	Institute of Educational Research
Mental Ability of Adults as Related to Adult Interests, Needs and Activities	Alonzo Grace Cleveland Board of Education	
College Aptitude of Adult Students	Earl McGroth Lewis Froman University of Buffalo	University of Buffalo Studies
Adult Abilities in Extension Classes	Herbert Sorenson University of Minnesota	
Audio Visual Program to Serve Labor Unions in Midwestern Area	Frank McCallister Roosevelt College Chicago, Illinois	Incomplete
Characteristics of Adult Basic to Education		Review of Educational Research, June, 1950
Study of Reading Achievement and Difficulties of Adults of Limited Education		University of Chicago
Opportunities for Professional Training in Adult Education	Mr. John Spence Ohio State University	Bureau of Special and Adult Education

V

An Incomplete Listing of Surveys Conducted on Adult Education

Title of Survey	Author of Results	Summary Published
Terminal Courses		
Study of Terminal Course Offerings	Byron F. Laird University of Indiana	Not complete
Handbook for the Development of Terminal Programs in Ohio Colleges	Fredrick D. Pultz Ohio State University	Bureau of Special and Adult Education Ohio State University

Note: These are not intended to be complete lists of surveys which have been conducted in the area of Adult Education.

Publications of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults

Discussion Guides

1. The American Tradition (70¢)
2. Analytical Reading (70¢)
3. Current Issues in International Affairs (70¢)
4. Group Living: Its Influence on Attitude and Behavior (70¢)
5. Themes and Variations: An Invitation to Literature (70¢)

Reports

1. Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College: A Case Study of Nine Institutions, November, 1952. ($1)

Notes & Essays*

1. "The Pooling of Ignorance? (Discussion in the College Classroom)," Russell F. W. Smith, October, 1952.

2. "Significant Research in Adult Education: Report to the Atlanta Convention of the Association of University Evening Colleges," Orville H. Palmer, November, 1952.

3. "Evaluating Courses, Not Students: An Evening College Experiment with Objective Devices," Harry L. Miller, February, 1953.

* Single copies available without charge. Insofar as possible requests for additional copies will also be filled without charge.

NOTES & ESSAYS

On

Education for Adults

EVALUATING COURSES, NOT STUDENTS

An Evening College Experiment with Objective Devices

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NUMBER 3

February, 1953

Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults
940 East 58th Street, Chicago 37, Illinois

Established by a grant from the Fund for Adult Education
as an agency of the Association of University Evening Colleges

EVALUATING COURSES, NOT STUDENTS*

Harry L. Miller

When one speaks of evaluation in the context of collegiate education it is most often assumed that the examinations given at the end of the course provides it. There is a definite body of material contained in the texts and lectures which the student is supposed to assimilate, and the amount of assimilation which occurs is measured by giving a term paper.

In this more or less traditional pattern it is the student who is being evaluated. A shift in focus is required to see a need for the evaluation of a course, because in the pattern just described an assumption usually is implicit that the material is meaningful and is presented in a way in which anyone worthy of being in college will be able to learn it. And in both undergraduate and graduate professional work a forceful argument can be made for the assumption. To take the most extreme case, the professional field of medicine sees certain kinds of knowledge as absolutely essential to professional competence and it is difficult to see how, in most cases, one could evaluate the educational process here without measuring how much of this knowledge the individual student has acquired. Further, in most medical courses the vast amount of data which must be transmitted leaves little room for flexibility in instruction, though the number of medical students who confess to sleeping through three-hour lectures indicates a need for some modification of present practices.

However much of a case can be made for evaluating the student in the traditional liberal arts college and the professional school, strong reasons may be cited for taking another approach in the evening college. First, the aims of many adult liberal arts students, though they may be working for credit and vaguely intending to get a degree (which very few ultimately manage to do), differ strikingly from the undergraduate or professional goal. The aims are often poorly articulated and vague--"education broadens a person" or "you learn how to think for yourself" -- but they generally imply some form of self-enhancement or improvement. Adult students are interested in some sort of personal growth. Second, the comfortable homogeneity of the day college classroom is missing. The range of interests, backgrounds, and abilities is generally much greater in evening classes, and a normal curve takes on the air of abnormality in such heterogeneous groups. Third, many adults in evening college are self-motivated and take a hand in the formation of curriculum and methodological policy by the simple expedient of dropping out of a class when the situation does not seem to them relevant to their own growth aims.

In setting defined by these differences, college teachers accustomed to the traditional classroom often are contemptuous of the evening college. True to habit they continue to evaluate the student in terms of standards which they set up, or which the demands of the discipline enforce. And many of them come to the opinion that evening students are a pretty stupid bunch.

A larger group of teachers, those who work full-time in the evening and others, take a much more sympathetic view. They tend much more to see the burden of proof as lying with the course and the instructor, less with the student. Accepting the challenge offered by adult classes, they make strenuous efforts to adapt the course material and their teaching methods to the difficulties of new learning situation. But most of them have stopped short of finding means of evaluating the new procedures, of developing ways of answering the question "How am I doing?" They no longer wholly trust the usual procedures of measuring the standards against which the measurements were made. As for the new goals, how do you measure intangibles such as growth of understanding, insight, "broadness," etc.? A recent study has indicated that many have substituted a kind of intuition as a basis for judging whether a course is effective or not, which means that they have no concrete means of evaluation left at all.

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*Published originally as Notes & Essays #3, February 1953, and in School & Society the same year.

The Experimental Course

In the Fall of 1951 the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults prepared five experimental courses for use in the evening colleges.[1] The courses were constructed in the belief that a break away from the traditional subject matter and teaching method of the college. The attempt to evaluate these courses, particularly the one in psychology, used a number of experimental devices which may be of general interest. This report on the evaluation results and the use made of them is offered in the hope that it may stimulate further attempts along the lines indicated by instructors who face similar problems.

The course called "Group Living: Its Influence on Attitude and Behavior" was not intended to be a survey course in social psychology with a catchy title, but a consideration of some of the findings of group psychology which would be directly pertinent to the lives of mature adults, and which would utilize their life experience as part of the course material. The readings consisted largely of original reports of experimentation done in the field, supplemented by such literary works as Death of a Salesman which give impressive insight into deeply felt problems of group life. An elaborate discussion guide was presented to the student, including comments on the readings, a glossary of technical psychological terms they would encounter, some tests the class could perform on itself, and a carefully worked out series of questions to start or focus discussion of the materials.[2]

The course was offered as an experiment by a number of evening colleges including the University College of Northwestern. The writer, who had planned the course and written the discussion guide for the Center, was asked to give the course at Northwestern and therefore had the opportunity to check his own arm-chair theories in a practical test. His specific problem was to determine whether the course met any of the hopes entertained for it as one especially designed to meet the educational needs of adult students. Obviously, a measurement of its success depended on a clear definition of the purpose which the course was to serve, which he saw as follows:

1. Sensitize students to the significance of their participation in groups, and arouse an interest in thinking about that participation.

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[1] Described in School and Society, March 15, 1952, Vol. 75, No. 1943, 167-169 and August 23, 1952, Vol. 76, No. 1966, pp. 113-118.

[2] A copy may be obtained by writing the Center.

2. Lead students to understand the bases of effective small group action and increase their skill of working in a group with other people.

3. Increase their insight into social problems which relate to the interaction of people and groups.

Subjective Student Response

Obtaining evidence about the first aim was not difficult, though it was time consuming. At about the mid-point in the course the question of final marks was brought up. The class discussed a number of bases for marking, and finally decided without dissent that the student should decide on a tentative mark for himself based on how much he felt he had learned, and then have a conference with the instructor to discuss whether this mark fairly represented his achievement.

These conferences, held before and after class over a period of a month, offered a valuable opportunity to probe for subjective reactions to the course and to find out in what terms students tended to measure themselves and how they related their learning to their motivations. A warning is in order here. Despite his experience in interviewing, the instructor often found it difficult to maintain balance and objectivity in these conferences. He had gone to great lengths in the course to establish warm and friendly relations with class and inevitably, therefore, because of the status relationship of the classroom, became the focus for a good many of the anxieties and insecurities of some of the students. Excessive emotional responses cannot only be exhausting to handle but can block the real information. A student who tells an instructor that she has never enjoyed a class as much as this one may have been left as completely untouched intellectually as by her weekly movie.

Several general conclusions can be made as a result of the conferences. First, almost all the students seemed genuinely enthusiastic about the basic elements of method in the course, the informality, the discussions, the opportunity to talk about things that interested them, the freedom to make decisions as a group about what was to be emphasized in the course, and the friendliness which grew among the class.

The second kind of evidence picked up from the interviews was indication of personal shifts of viewpoint which would be very difficult to get in any other way. For instance, an older student who had spoken out against religion from the first session, who during discussions blamed religion for all the ills of man, had his conference on the evening during which the class was to discuss "scapegoating" as a form of intergroup prejudice. He began the interview by asking the instructor whether he thought that he was using religion as a scapegoat and during the talk that followed showed a good deal of previously absent insight into his own motivations. Another student, who works for the labor relations department of a large industrial firm and who attends most of the union-management conferences on grievances, indicated great satisfaction at his new insight into what went on in these conferences; such concepts as "Frames of reference" explained a great many things that had previously puzzled him.

About half the class gave some such concrete evidence of the effect of the course on their personal values or ideas. The interview material in general reveal the interesting fact that such changes were restricted to the working, more mature adults in the class and did not occur among the younger degree students. Apparently the attempt to focus on the play between scientific research and personal experience was most successful where the experience is broader.

A check on these interviews was obtained in another way. A staff member from the Center interviewed a sample of five students as part of a general evaluation of all the Center's courses. The only difference which was picked up, in one student who talked enthusiastically to the instructor but expressed himself vehemently to the interviewer about the discussion method being a waste of time, indicates the need for general caution in the use of this kind of evaluation.

Objective Measures: Group Process

The most general aims of the course, then, seem to have been achieved in some measure at least. But were the specific learning goals realized? The problem here was that there was no way in which student learning could fairly be measured by the usual means, nor could it be compared to the learning that goes on in, say, the usual introductory social psychology class. What was of paramount importance was any difference in the class before and after it had the experience of the course.

One of the aims, as stated above, was an increase in the skill of working together effectively. Fortunately, a measure for this group skill has already been developed, using a group projection technique based on the Thematic Apperception Test. The group device, tested at the University of Michigan, presents to the subjects a series of vague drawings of groups of people, engaged in ill-defined tasks or in ambiguous situations. The drawing used for this course was of a number of young men sitting around a table in various positions; two of them are talking privately, another one is leaving the group. The expressions on none of the faces are clear.

In one of the early sessions the class was asked to study the picture, a copy which was included in each discussion guide, and spend ten minutes developing as a group, a story about the meeting in the picture. They were to decide who the people were, what they were doing, and how the situation would resolve itself. The feelings of the class about itself as a group and the ability of its members to work together well are revealed in a number of ways from such a story. For example, the presence in the story of a great deal of conflict or an unsatisfied ending indicates a group that probably feels that it does not get anywhere most of the time.

At the last meeting of the class the picture was presented again with the same set of instructions. The two versions are given below:

> The group is a professional fraternity, probably an executive committee making plans for the year. The man whose back is turned and who is leaving the group is disinterested, disgusted with the way things are going. He is no longer an active participant. The man standing is arguing and apparently trying to make his point clear -- perhaps trying to win over the others. The leader is pointing out something said at

> the table and the man in the dark suit seems to be a passive observer weighing the problem. The whole group is discussing an issue and not agreement has been reached.
>
> II
>
> The group is a professional group of some kind who are discussing the details of holding a dance. There is one disunterested person, but the group as a whole looks too relaxed to be in a really tense situation. The member who is turning away is disagreeing about details, to fund-raise or not, etc. There is a definite difference of opinion among the group, and it has divided into factions.

It does not require the application of complex analytical methods to see that the major elements are quite similar. The class as a whole has not learned much about its own processes nor has it gained in skill in working together.

This result raised a very serious question as to whether this particular aim should not be dropped from the course. If it is considered an important part of it, then the test indicates that much more time would need to be spent on group self-analysis. This would necessarily cut heavily into the time available for the consideration of problems which might be more interesting and valuable for an evening college class, many of whose members do not belong to social action groups.

At the very least the test provided a basis for deciding on further revision of the course and the value of the results suggests the desirability of further experimentation with group projective techniques as tools of educational evaluation.

Objective Measures: The Problem Test

The success of the third purpose of the course was much more difficult to evaluate. Did the students's understanding of the course materials and the discussion of them lead to deeper insight than they had before of some of the broad group problems of their society? Such insight is far more difficult to achieve than reorientation to situations in which one is personally involved. The essay question examination is often aimed at measuring this kind of learning, but such questions are usually so broad as to yield non-comparable answers and even if this objection were overcome, how objective can an instructor be in grading the answers to such questions?

In order to provide a reasonably objective measurement another device if experimental psychology was used, but one which is more broadly applicable than the group process test described above. In the belief that problem-solving behavior furnishes a concrete, comparable way of measuring the kind of learning sought the following problem involving a complex group situation was presented to each student, both at the beginning and end of the course:

> A friend of yours asks for help in a problem he faces in his community. The situation, as he outlines it for you, is briefly this:
>
> He has lived for several years in a government housing project which includes about 1200 families. The community maintains such

services as a cooperative grocery, a community church, a cooperative nursery school, and a systematic car pool for getting into town. The Community Center is busy with meetings of volunteer clubs which put out a weekly newspaper, provide amateur theatricals, take care of the library, etc., and also serves as a meeting place for a number of social, political and religious groups. The residents have formed a Community Council by electing a volunteer representative from each block, and this informal body functions fairly smoothly in dealing with the housing administrator on such problems as getting needed repairs made, preventing health hazards, etc.

Recently, a number of Negro families have moved into the project and, although the surface of community life seems calm, rumors are beginning to fly. "People say" that:

1. Some white families are moving out
2. The housing administrator is placing most Negro families in one area, with the intention of maintaining segregation
3. A white woman has been frightened by a Negro resident and called on the police. (Your friend adds, from his own knowledge, that the police had questioned the man, decided the woman had been mistaken, and released him.)

The Council, of which your friend is a member, does not feel that it can do anything about the situation, but he feels that if it is allowed to go on a very nasty community conflict may develop. He is interested in finding ways in which tension can be reduced, and any conflict avoided.

Your comments will not be "graded" or held to your credit or discredit in this course. Instead of signing your name, at the top of your paper a number representing your birthday (e.g., 715 would mean July 15) so that your paper can be compared with one you may be asked to do later in class.

The papers were handled in the following way:

1. A rating sheet of five items was composed, on which the factors which were to be rated were made as explicit as possible. Each paper was to be rated for these factors:

   (a) How aware is the student of the complexity of the problem?
   (b) The what extent is he oriented to a solution of the problem, rather than his personal feelings about it?
   (c) To what extent is he aware of psychological factors in the situation?
   (d) Does the solution offered seem generally realistic and mature rather than fantastic or defeatist?

   (e) How sensitive is he to the operation of group process factors? In order to increase the chance of obtaining consistency between judgements the scale for each factor was made specific. For example, the rating of "problem complexity" was divided this way:

(1) Sees the situation personally in terms of vague threat, or as very confused
(2) Sees only the immediate problem of the mistaken accusation
(3) Perceives the problem simply in terms of Negro vs. White, or some other bi-polar sense
(4) Sees the situation as complicated but not aware of the specifics which make it so
(5) Aware of the variety of different perceptions possible in the situation and the interaction of numbers of groups with differing motivation

As soon as this rating sheet was completed, the papers were coded and typed to avoid the personal element of handwriting and were put in random order without regard to whether they were "before" or "after".

2. Five raters with psychological background read the papers in the order presented and rated each one on the provided scale.

3. The papers were re-divided into "before" and "after" groups, and the ratings of each judge for each of the five factors were subjected to chi-square test of significance of difference.

This procedure permits one to ask whether the class as a whole showed any improvement, by applying the principles and insights learned, in the ability to diagnose and hypothesize solutions for a complex social problem in which they are not personally involved. The answer in this case would be "no". There was a slight general tendency for the "after" papers to be rated higher than the "before" papers, but the differences were in only one case statistically significant. (With the exception of the rating by one judge of one factor, values for P ranged from the 50 to the 15% level.)

Several interpretations of this result are possible. It may be that a significant improvement in such an ability is too much to hope for in a period of four months of one course. Another possibility is that the course did not sufficiently stress the practice of the skill, nor provide consistently enough situations in which the class was led to apply learned principles to problems outside their immediate experience.

Revising the Course

In light of these results several decisions were made which will govern the next presentation of the course. First, emphasis will be placed on using the class itself as a laboratory for learning the psychological dynamics of the small group. The results seem to indicate that such training would be effective only if the major materials of the course were to be the group itself and if the class meetings were closer together. The class will still be required to be self-analytical when the course material is relevant and as the members face the recurrent problems of communication effectively with one another. This decision reflects the writer's belief not that such training in group participation is unnecessary, but that in the situation of the normal two-hour, sixteen week college class it is an impracticable goal.

Second, it also reflects his conviction that a greater emphasis in learning to apply insights to concrete situations may produce significant changes in the ability of class members to do so. The discussion guide, therefore, is being revised by eliminating the sections which suggested hosts of problems and questions for class consideration, and substituting two or three carefully focussed problems for discussion with several lines of attack indicated. The use of newspaper materials relevant to the weeks readings is also being considered.

These decisions and other less important ones not elaborated here derive partly, of course, from the kind of intuition on which all instructors depend. The results of the evaluation procedures not only add a kind of precision to the intuitive guesswork of an instructor, but often reveal the inaccuracy of the guesses. In this case, for instance, the instructor discovered that what he had taken for a growth in the group's ability to work together was probably only an increase in friendliness.

There are, obviously some challenging generalizations to be drawn from this experience and from other scattered ones in the educational literature. The most important probably is the assertion of the need to abandon the "by guess and by gosh" method in general education of answering the question "How am I doing?" The writer's hope is that increased and widespread testing of evaluation devices such as those described here will lead gradually to an improvement in the effectiveness of general education.

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Reports

1. Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College: A Case Study of Nine Institutions, November, 1952. ($1)

Notes & Essays*

1. "The Pooling of Ignorance? (Discussion in the College Classroom)," Russell F. Smith, October, 1952.

2. "Significant Research in Adult Education Report to the Atlanta Convention of the Association of University Evening College," Orville H. Palmer, November, 1952.

3. "Evaluating Courses, Not Students: An Evening College Experiment with Objective Devices," Harry L. Miller, February, 1953.

4. "Social Roles of the Middle-Aged Person: A Method of Identifying the Needs of Adults," Robert J. Havighurst, March, 1953.

5. "Television and the University: A Report of the Committee on Educational Television," The University of Chicago, March, 1953.

* Single copies available without charge. Insofar as possible, requests for additional copies will also be filled without charge.

NOTES

and

ESSAYS on education for adults

SOCIAL ROLES OF THE MIDDLE-AGED PERSON

A Method of Identifying the Needs of Adults

Robert J. Havighurst
Chairman, Committee on Human Development
University of Chicago

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940 east fifty-eighth street · chicago 37, illinois

NUMBER 4
March 1953

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the association of university evening colleges.

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SOCIAL ROLES OF THE MIDDLE-AGED PERSON

A Method of Identifying the Needs of Adults

By

Robert J. Havighurst

CHAIRMAN, COMMITTEE ON HUMAN DEVELOPMENT
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
1953

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INTRODUCTION

"The needs of evening college students differ from the needs of day students!"

This flat assertion has been bandied about for a long time. Is it true? If so, precisely what is the nature of the differences? What exactly is meant by this vague thing termed "needs"?

In the following paper, Professor Havighurst provides us with one possible way of obtaining answers to such questions. Havighurst suggests an approach, not a solution. He proposes a method for finding out, not a set of answers. Thus, in my judgment, he has made a contribution to a problem basic to the practicing educator; he has pointed out one way of finding out what people need. To me, his method is clear-cut, uncluttered by pedagogical terminology, usable, and has concrete implications for those who are trying to develop teaching materials and teaching methods attractive to adults.

Professor Havighurst's method was first introduced to evening college people at a workshop sponsored by the Center in January 1953 for members of the Executive Committee of the AUEC and of the Board of Directors of the Center. The theme of the Workshop was: "The Evening College and the University." Attention was focused on the purposes of the evening college. We wrestled with the questions of how purposes ought to be determined. The Workshop concluded that evening college purposes should be determined not by any one kind of need but should emerge out of three kinds of needs: The needs of individuals; the needs of the community; and the demands of the academic traditions inherent in higher education.

Professor Havighurst's method found favor in our deliberations about the needs of individuals, and the Workshop—by formal action—commissioned the Center to initiate further study and exploration of this method. The Center's effort involves two steps:

First, by means of this publication, the Center is communicating this research approach to AUEC members in order to discover to what extent it finds favor and to suggest that AUEC members can, if they wish, join the Center in a cooperative effort to find out whether this approach makes sense in terms of problems faced by evening colleges.

Second, based on results of the first step, the Center hopes to launch one or more modest pilot studies which make use of the method.

How relevant, then, is this method to the problems faces by evening colleges?

In the first place, it gives the term need a definable and measurable meaning. Scientifically, it would enable us to describe needs objectively and quantitatively. The method also has flexibility. That is, a research study could easily be limited to one or two role areas that seem most relevant in the sense of yielding needs which the evening college can do something about. Or such a study could be limited by not having to worry about representative samples from the total population. We know, for example, that the potential evening college clientele is made up largely of fairly literate persons in the middle socio-economic groups. There are several other ways in which the method's flexibility would make study designs manageable.

In the second place, this method could take the evening college into unexplored areas of adult motivation. Many deans and directors have revealed dissatisfaction with the numbers of adults being attracted to the evening college. There is both feeling and evidence that vast, untouched markets exist as a potential for evening college enrollments. Somehow, the evening college in America has failed to reach extensive and vaguely defined areas of adult motivation. Havighurst states that "Middle age is terra incognita—unknown territory to the social scientist." We might generalize to say that in a two-fold sense all adulthood is terra incognita: (1) Although we now know a great deal about childhood, adolescence, and —more recently—about old age, the biological, sociological, and psychological problems of early and middle adulthood remain relatively unexplored. (2) Although we now know—and especially those in evening colleges know—a good bit about the needs of breadwinners, certain other areas of life activity also remain relatively unexplored. For example, we know from other studies that most persons now enrolled in evening colleges are preparing for jobs, preparing for better jobs, or are in other ways seeking economic advancement. In short, they are motivated to fulfill the role of the worker successfully. But we know little about the considerable number of enrolled students who are restlessly stirred to "broaden" themselves, to seek cultural and esthetically satisfying experiences, etc., or about the unknown numbers who do not come to the evening colleges at all. Are we to assume that evening colleges are primarily media for economic betterment? And are we to assume that the non-evening college population is composed of those who either cannot be touched by education or are happy, well-satisfied individuals?

The Case Study data suggest otherwise.* In the attitude survey we found a vague kind of hunger which we could only identify as a persistent desire for self-growth. And what is of equal importance is that many persons do find in the social experience of going to evening college and especially in liberal arts subject matter a deeply satisfying, non-utilitarian experience. The Havighurst approach might give us a chance better to pin-point the needs felt by those called upon to perform the tasks of adulthood. Obviously, this approach can be applied to the needs of early adulthood (ages 21-40), from which age bracket the evening college clientele is largely derived. We should, however, also note that, by and large, evening colleges have not been concerned with opportunities presented by an aging population that has an increasing amount of leisure time. Life activity areas such as "friendship" and "leisure time" would seem especially relevant, and it is obvious that we have not given much systematic thought to such need areas as giving rise to college-level programs.

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* See Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College: A Study of Nine Institutions, Chicago, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1952.

In the third place, the Havighurst method seems useful because it shifts our attention from growth to function. A reasonable hypothesis is that evening college programs are trapped by multiple frames of reference imported from what adolescents need in order to grow up. Courses are therapeutic pills and curricula are viewed as nourishment toward maturity. And while such concepts are still relevant for adults, other concepts are also needed. For adulthood may be primarily a period of adjustment to the many, but fairly discrete, functions an adult must perform. It appears probable that some of these adjustments might be facilitated by means of educational opportunities which evening colleges can provide.

The Center offers this paper for your consideration. We are especially grateful to Professor Havighurst and to the Human Development Symposium for permission to publish the paper in this form.

The Center would welcome your views on the proposal that this method be tried out in one or more places in an effort to see if evening colleges can gain new insights and concrete suggestions as to how curriculum materials and teaching methods can be made more attractive to adults. The Center is especially interested in hearing from any AUEC institution that may wish to cooperate in doing some pilot studies using the approach which Professor Havighurst is here proposing.

John B. Schwertman, Director

Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults.

Chicago, Ill.
March 1, 1953

SOCIAL ROLES OF THE MIDDLE-AGED PERSON*

Middle age is terra incognita—unknown territory to the social scientist. Although he is thoroughly familiar with the length and breadth and depth of childhood and adolescence, and he has made extensive explorations into the domain of old age, his knowledge of middle age is limited to a small amount of highly specialized knowledge gained from marriage counsellors, psychiatrists, and social workers, about small and non-representative groups of middle-aged people; and from public opinion analysts and market research workers about limited behavior areas of representative groups.

To learn about middle age is somewhat like the task of the anthropologist who goes to a strange island to observe the people there and to report on their way of life. Yet the island is right here, in Chicago and everywhere, and some of us live on it. Middle age is also the most familiar of things. It is all about us, and we are involved with it.

The fact of the accessibility of middle age to us makes it both an easy and a difficult thing for us to study as social scientists. It is easy for the obvious reason that it is right here, beside us, like an open book. The language of the people in middle age is our language—or is it? Do the familiar words have the same meaning for the people aged 50 that they have for people aged 20 or 30? Or does the word love differ in meaning for the 50-year-old and the 20-year-old? Are there some things about middle age that do not meet the casual eye?

Middle age is the Summer of life. In what does it differ from Spring and Autumn?

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* Read by Robert J. Havighurst, at the Fourth Annual Symposium Committee on Human Development, The University of Chicago, January 31, 1953.

Purposes of Social Science in the Study of Middle Age

Social science is the systematic study of the behavior of human beings. The social science of middle age is the systematic collecting and ordering of the facts of the behavior of human beings within the age-range of—let us say, 40 to 65.

The immediate purpose of social science is to organize knowledge of human behavior and to predict human behavior. The long-run purpose is to improve human life—to make people happier in a sense of the word happiness that includes the immediate happiness of the individual and extends out to the happiness of other people in other places and future times. Since happiness and goodness are closely associated in human experiences another way of stating the aim of social science is to say that it aims to make men good.

We study middle age as social scientists, then, in order to describe it systematically and accurately, to predict how middle-aged people will behave under certain circumstances, and to predict how middle-aged people of various kinds will fare in their old age. We study middle age in order to find out what makes people happy and good people in their middle and later years.

How Shall We Study Middle Age?

How shall we study middle age? Do we find leading and organizing ideas from our experience with the study of childhood and adolescence? There the emphasis is on growth and development. To study children we look at their growth in various areas—mental, physical, moral, and social. We are interested more in where they will be next month or next year than in where they are today.

For the study of middle age the emphasis is likely to shift toward the study of function and away from growth.

The scientific problem is to define the functional areas of life in middle age, and to observe and record activity in these areas. To solve this problem we must devise a procedure for describing life objectively and quantitatively, as far as possible, so as to measure change, and so as to be able to apply this procedure to the lives of different kinds of people. Also, this procedure should help us to discover the relations between people's behavior and their motives.

I believe that the concept of social role can be put to use for this purpose. Social roles are activity-patterns that can be seen in more than one individual, and which many people commonly fill. The activity can be thought about independent of the particular individual who shows it. For instance, all adults fill the role of citizen, though with varying degrees of activity and varying degrees of success from the point of view of the civic welfare.

The following list of ten social roles covers most of the activity of an adult:

Worker
Parent
Husband or wife
Home-maker or home member
Son or daughter
Citizen
Friend
Club or association member
Member of a religious group
User of leisure time

If a person's activities in these roles are defined, most of his current life will be defined. Furthermore, his activities in a given role-area may be defined on a scale of activity or time input, so that he may be given a score representing his degree of activity in each of the role areas that make up so much of his life. For example, the following activity scale for the role area of friendship enables us to score a person on his activity in the role of friend, or member of informal social group outside of the family.

Social Role Scale

Friend—Member of informal social group outside of the family.

1. No friends; no social relations in small groups. Never correspond with friends. Alone in life.

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2. Have one or two people whom I call friend, though I don't spend time with them as a friend more than once a year. Have no purely social relations in groups outside my family, but attend meetings at church or at work where I feel as though I know a few people and am known by them.

3. No intimate friends; have scattered social contacts in non-intimate groups, e.g., speak to people at church or union meetings; say "hello" to people at drugstore or tavern. Speak with people at work, and "pass the time of day" with work associates at lunch time or when work is slack.

4. Scattered social contacts in small groups. Do things with one or two people such as going to movies, ball-games, church social events; do these things as often as three or four times a year.

5. Associate with people in social groups open to anyone; e.g., church dinners. Have as many as five or six people with whom I keep in fairly intimate social touch by going to meetings and entertainments with them, sending and receiving Christmas cards, eating meals with them.

6. See one or more local friends at least once a month and do something with them. Keep up a correspondence, by Christmas card at least, with ten or more people whom I do not see frequently. Take part in some kind of informal social activity, such as Sunday School class party, club dance or dinner, golf playing group, with people whom I look forward to seeing there.

7. Visit friends in their homes and invite them into my home, if I have one. If unmarried, I go out to meals and theatre, etc., with at least a half dozen people. I keep up a friendship relation with at least a few people I have known more than ten years.

8. I belong to at least one friendship clique which gets together frequently for card-playing, play-reading, theatre-parties, birthday parties, etc. There are at least ten people whom I see and treat as friends at least 10 times a year.

9. I have a busy and active social life with my spouse, if married; in mixed sex groups, if unmarried. I keep up a correspond-

ence at least by Christmas cards with at least 20 people, some of whom I have known for at least 20 years.

10. I have a busy and varied social life in groups with my spouse, and in other groups without my spouse. I participate in more than one friendship clique. I see friends in my home or in their home or in some other pleasant place at least once a day. Some of my friends I have known since childhood.

With analogous role scales in the other nine role areas it is possible to assign to a person a score in each of the ten areas and thus to define his particular profile of role-activity. This can be done for everybody we study, and when the profiles of various people are compiled we have a census of social roles, which can be reported on the basis of sex, age, socio-economic status, marital status, or any other group characteristic.

If we should devise a set of role scales and apply them to describing the lives of a sample of middle-aged people, we would have a systematic description of middle age as seen from the outside. This, in itself, would be of some use, but it would not do all that we would like our social science to do.

The Relation of Role-activities to Happiness and Goodness

Since we aim, as social scientists, to discover what things make people happy and good, we might then pursue our goal by finding the relations of role-activity to happiness and goodness. For this, we must have a measure of that combination of happiness and goodness which we may call adjustment, or competence, or some other name that signifies the good life.

Such a measure is difficult to attain in any approach to perfection, but there are two well-known approximations to it — a self-report on one's personal adjustment, and a judgment by critical and informed persons on one's competence as a mature, adult person.

Consequently, we should design instruments or procedures of these two kinds for the measurement of the adjustment — competence — happiness — goodness complex. Then we shall be able to test hypotheses about role-activity in relation to adjustment — a word I shall use to refer to the complex I have just mentioned.

Furthermore, we should design instruments to describe and measure health, economic security, and the self-concept, because we shall want to see how these things are related to role-activity and adjustment. By "self-concept" I mean the picture one has of oneself as a physical, moral, intellectual and social person, including one's goals and aspirations. The self-concept instrument should give information about a person's motives.

Hypotheses to be Tested

With this array of instruments for the study of representative samples of middle-aged people, it should be possible not only to describe systematically the status and activities of middle-aged people, but also to test some hypotheses about the factors that make for good adjustment both in middle age and in the later years. It should be possible to set up experimental preventive mental hygiene programs aimed at improving adjustment, and to evaluate these programs. Some of the hypotheses which might be tested are the following:

1. Sheer quantity of role-activity is a good predictor of adjustment. The total role activity score should show a very high correlation with measures of happiness, competence and goodness, if this hypothesis is true.

2. Some roles are more closely related to adjustment than others. Activity scores in the various role-areas should be differentially related to adjustment on this hypothesis.

These two hypotheses are sure to be confirmed to some degree. For older people using a role-instrument of the type here described we have confirmed similar hypotheses. But more interesting and more difficult to test are the following hypotheses. They will require intensive case studies, and studies of individuals continuing over a period of years.

3. Personality factors give various roles different values in

the adjustment of an individual. For instance, a rigid, compulsive person may depend for his satisfaction in life much more upon a high level of work activity than a more easygoing flexible person, who in turn may depend on friendship and leisure-time activity for satisfaction. A recent study of urban school teachers brings out clearly the wide variety of personal goals that are being sought by diverse people within a particular role-area. A man who has been a success as a school teacher and a school principal is now 55 years old. He works harder than ever at committee work, is active in his professional association, and seeks summer school teaching in a teachers' college. He dreads the thought of retirement. Another teacher about the same age is gradually letting down in his role as a worker. He has built himself a summer cabin on a lake and goes out there as soon as school is out in the summer. He is active in his church as head of the ushers' committee. Retirement is no threat to him, except for the loss of income it will bring. Although his role-activity score in the work area is lower than that of the first man, he has as good or better adjustment.

4. Under appropriate conditions a shift of emphasis can be made from one role-area to others without loss of adjustment. For example, a woman returned to teaching when she was in her fifties, because her children were grown and she and her husband moved into a smaller house. Thus she took up the role of worker again when the roles of parent and home maker became reduced in importance to her, and she found the satisfactions in the new role that she was losing in the old roles.

This ability to shift emphasis from one role to another is probably the best protection there is against maladjustment as one grows older, when death of husband or wife, retirement, and ill health deprive certain roles of some or all of their former satisfactions.

5. There is a high correlation between quantities of role-activity in middle age and old age. That is, a person who is active in a variety of roles in middle age will tend to remain active in a variety of roles in his old age. Furthermore, certain role-areas in middle age are more predictive of good adjustment in old age

than others are. Probably there is a higher correlation between scores in the leisure-time and friendship areas and adjustment in old age than there is between scores in the work area of middle age and old-age adjustment.

6. The self-concept endows role-activity with significance. For example, a person who conceives of himself as a fine physical specimen and an athlete will probably get much of his satisfaction from his leisure-time pursuit of active games and his good looks and trim figure. As he moves through middle age and must be less active and less successful in this role he has certain alternatives: he can shift his attention to other role areas where he may then get greater satisfaction, but only if his self-concept changes and he comes to see less of himself as an athlete and fine physical specimen; or he can change his self-concept within the leisure area, thinking of himself now as a player of more sedentary games, and as a person whose attractive appearance depends partly on careful dressing and choice of clothing, in which case he may still get as much satisfaction as ever from the leisure-time area; or he may not change his earlier self-concept, in which case he will get less and less reward from the people around him and he will become bitter and dissatisfied, unless he can successfully delude himself with memories and fantasies of the triumphs of his younger days.

There is an opportunity for research on the interaction between self-concept and role-activity. Under what conditions does a change in role-activity force a change in self-concept. Would a severe accident or a crippling illness force a change of self-concept on the erstwhile athlete where the slow erosion of middle age would not? On the other hand, might the sudden death of a husband be such a shock to a particular middle-aged woman that she could not adopt new role-activity to replace that of a wife, whereas his death after a long illness at age 70 might leave her in a more flexible state of mind, ready and almost anxious to take up other role-activities? Under what conditions does a change in self-concept initiate a change in role activity? Can a man in his fifties deliberately change his concept of himself as a hard-working, compulsive, ambitious executive to that of an easygoing squire farmer who rides across his acres on horseback and stops to discuss the weather with his neighbor, and then can he carry out the activity appropriate to his new role and enjoy it fully?

7. Does urban life offer a wider variety of satisfying role-activities to people than the simpler society does? Certainly the modern city is more complex in its social arrangements than the modern rural or the simple primitive society. It offers more alternatives and requires more choices. What do men and women do in this situation? Does the city mean opportunity to them, or frustration? Some people when faced with complexity become frozen and rigid, losing some of the flexibility they would have in a simple situation where the possibilities before them were not so confusing. Some city dwellers live a narrower and more routinized life than people like them who dwell in the country, where a change in the weather means a change of activity, and the paucity of books and newspapers may make for more rather than less reading, and a walk along Main Street may bring one into conversation with more different kinds of people than one would converse with in a year in the city.

What are the actual choices open to individuals in the city, as distinguished from the catalogue of choices open to the totality of the population? How many choices can one person entertain in his mind? How can people be helped to see the possibilities before them and to take advantage of the greater complexity of the city?

8. Can role-flexibility be learned? The movement through adulthood and old age involves changes in role-activity. As one's children grow up and away, as one's aging parents grow old and feeble, as physical energy and attractiveness decrease, as death takes away husbands and wives and friends, as retirement takes away work, as the fires of ambition die down, as these things happen people must learn to get new satisfactions in place of old ones out of new activities in place of old ones. They must shift their roles, withdraw emotional capital from one role and invest it in another one.

Urban life puts a premium on role-flexibility, without necessarily making role-flexibility easier to gain. The problem for social science and for adult education is to find out the conditions under which role-flexibility is learned, and to find ways of helping all kinds of people increase this role-flexibility.

If we do this, we can help to make the modern city a good place to live in and to grow old in.

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5. "Television and the University," a report of the Committee on Educational Television of the University of Chicago.
6. "A School for Optimists," Paul A. McGhee, August, 1953.

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notes
and
essays on education for adults

number

5

Television and the University

A Report of the Committee on Educational Television The University of Chicago

center for the study of liberal education for adults
4819 greenwood avenue · chicago 15, illinois

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults

ALEXANDER N. CHARTERS
ADULT ED. — LIB. OF C. E.
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

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Committee on Educational Television
The University of Chicago

NOTES & ESSAYS
ON
EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

TELEVISION AND THE UNIVERSITY

NUMBER 5

March, 1953

Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults

Reprinted from
The School Review
Published monthly (except June, July, and August) by
The University of Chicago at the University of Chicago Press
Under the Direction of the Editorial Committee of the Department of Education
Subscription price, $4.50 a year
PRINTED IN U.S.A.

TELEVISION AND THE UNIVERSITY

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

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EDITORIAL NOTE: In 1945, television came out of the laboratory and into the lives of the American people. In that year the Federal Communications Commission began its allocation of channels to those who applied for them, assuming that some 394 station assignments were possible. But when these stations began to operate, it was discovered that engineering predictions needed correction. Furthermore, new technological advances indicated that the existing transmitting and receiving equipment might soon become obsolete. Late in 1948, therefore, the FCC announced that it would allocate no more channels until it had had time to study the whole matter.

The decision to delay further allocation gave educational institutions opportunity to organize their forces and to present the case for the reservation of some channels for noncommercial use. A Joint Committee on Educational Television was formed to mobilize resources and present testimony to the FCC. Despite the active opposition of the commercial broadcasters, the educational forces were so articulate and forceful that the FCC gave them first its attention and then its support. On April 11, 1952, it announced that it would once again begin allocation of stations but that a number of them would be reserved for one year, awaiting applications from educational institutions. After this period of one year, the reserved channels would presumably be released for commercial use. The FCC also added a new band for broadcasting, which is not receivable on most present sets. As a result, it became possible to allocate a total of 2,053 new stations, of which 242 were reserved for noncommercial operation.

In Chicago, the one remaining channel—Channel Eleven—on the present band was reserved for educational television. This reservation is in force only until June 2, 1953. A city-wide committee made up of representatives of numerous educational agencies in the area has been exploring the possibilities of operating a television station on Channel Eleven. Chancellor Lawrence A. Kimpton, of the University of Chicago, and the University's Board of Radio felt that the responsibilities and opportunities of the University in the operation of such a station should be explored by a faculty Committee on Educational Television. This committee was set up and charged with the following duties:

First, to examine the concept of educational television and recommend any general policies which should govern the University's participation in its operation;

Second, to explore the resources of the University, its allied agencies, and the community in order to develop program ideas which would be sound educationally and which would use the medium of television to the best advantage.

The Committee had only a short time to make its study and prepare its report, and it did not originally plan to publish the document. However, members of the Editorial Committee of the *School Review* believe that the report is of great general interest and that it contains many ideas of value to other groups concerned with educational television. The Committee on Educational Television and Chancellor Kimpton consented to the suggestion that a major portion of the report be presented here. The original document has been abbreviated for publication, particularly by selecting only a sample of the program ideas that were included.

The members of the Committee on Educational Television are:

Cyril O. Houle, *chairman*, Professor of Education and Dean of University College

Reuel N. Denney, Associate Professor of Social Sciences in the College

Donald Horton, Assistant Professor of Sociology

John O. Hutchens, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Physiology

Warren C. Johnson, Professor and Chairman of the Department of Chemistry, Associate Dean of the Division of Physical Sciences, and Scientific Adviser on the Argonne Laboratory

Carl H. Kraeling, Professor of Oriental Languages and Literature and Director of the Oriental Institute

Henry W. Sams, Associate Professor of English in the College and Director of the Summer Quarter

FINAL REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

THE UNIVERSITY'S OBJECTIVES IN ENGAGING IN TELEVISION

Television is a great new instrument which a university may use in achieving its traditional objectives.

In broad terms, those objectives are commonly thought to be (1) the acquisition of knowledge, (2) the preservation of knowledge, and (3) the transmission of knowledge. In transmitting knowledge, there are three groups with which the university works directly: those young people who are to be educated to carry on scholarly traditions, those young people who are to be educated for the professions and for responsible leadership in society, and such adults as wish to further their education. Less directly but equally powerfully, the university also "transmits knowledge" by being a constant influence for good in society. It takes its place among those agencies which act to improve the culture, the quality of living, and the rational accomplishment of social ends. Intellectually speaking, it is foremost among these agencies and therefore must accept some responsibility for leading them.

THE ACQUISITION OF KNOWLEDGE

The Committee believes that television can have a limited use so far as research is concerned. The study of the communication process now carried on in several parts of the University will certainly be enhanced by the opportunity for direct access to television programing and controlled audience research. Furthermore, television may be of assistance in appealing for data or for materials. It may even provide the medium for organizing fairly systematically a group of observers or workers who can provide data to research scholars, paralleling in this way the work of the Harvard Observatory in astronomy. While it is possible that in these ways individual discoveries of marked importance may be made, the Committee believes that research activities could and should take up only a modest amount of time in the total program offering of Channel Eleven.

THE PRESERVATION OF KNOWLEDGE

The television screen has little in common with the library, the museum, or the other agencies by means of which the modern university insures that the records of knowledge be preserved. The only value which television would appear to have in meeting this goal is in the file of films and other material which might be created as records of past programs or sources of future ones. This file may prove to be of great importance, and television may turn out to have a great influence on the production of educational films. The Committee feels, however, that the technological preservation of knowledge will be only an incidental by-product of Channel Eleven. On the other hand, preservation of knowledge in the sense of giving it currency among people outside of universities is one of the great potentialities of television.

THE TRANSMISSION OF KNOWLEDGE

It is to the third of the three great objectives of the university that television will make its outstanding contribution. This new invention is a medium of communication of impelling power. It has come upon us all so recently that its significance is hard to grasp. Already the citizens of greater Chicago possess 1,250,000 television sets, and the saturation point is as yet not near. No medium of print—not even the *Chicago Tribune*—comes close to this figure. For the purposes of education, the spread of this new medium of communication is of crucial significance. Television is to the public lecture or appearance as the printed book was to the manuscript. The number of persons who can see and hear an individual speaker or a demonstration has achieved a new order of magnitude. Furthermore, the singular flexibility of the camera and its capacity for detailed and direct observation (already demonstrated in the operating rooms of hospitals) gives to television a qualitative as well as a quantitative advantage.

If the transmission of knowledge is the chief end of educational television, it is appropriate to look more closely at the use which might properly be made of it by the University of Chicago.

It will not, of course, play a large part in the education which the University gives on its own Quadrangles to those who are preparing to be scholars or to enter the professions or other pursuits of modern citizenship. Our students will presumably look and learn, but, in doing so, they will ordinarily be a part of the larger public which is being served. The production of programs or the operation of the station may have some value for some of our students, but the number will almost certainly be small.

On the other hand, we might reasonably hope that, over the years, educational television may improve the caliber and increase the number of the students who come to us. If Channel Eleven is successful in taking ideas out into the community, if it can help parents to raise their children more intelligently, if it can give teachers a better idea of how to teach, if it can capture the imagination of able young people and give them insights, incentives, and goals, and particularly if the University can be presented in such a fashion that its aspirations and its work are better understood, the result will surely be an improved and a broadened student body.

Television will prove of enormous value in the education of those mature members of our society who wish to continue to learn. From its beginning, the University has considered adult education to be one of its central tasks. It was the first university in America to build extension programs into its basic structure; where it has led, the other universities have followed. Television presents a great new frontier for adult education, and the University's proper role now is, as it has always been, that of a pioneer.

When Channel Eleven is placed in operation, countless Chicagoans will turn to it with the conscious purpose of improving themselves. They will have, from the beginning, the same sense of dedication and involvement that has characterized the "Third Programme" of the British Broadcasting Corporation. As time goes on, other people will become interested in those reaches of knowledge and art about which they know nothing and with which they have had no previous contact. The Committee believes that, over the years, there would come into existence a large body of consistent and conscientious viewers for whom television will have brought the ideal of lifelong learning much nearer to realization.

But the value of educational television will not stop here. Indeed, it may well be said that the chief objective has not yet been mentioned. It is, in brief, the power that television will give the University to strengthen its influence in the improvement of our society. Universities are vast storehouses of knowledge which needs to be translated into action. If the things which our professors know are given articulate expression, they will become a part of the stock of ideas which are discussed and acted upon. The facts, controversies, and concerns of the various academic disciplines may be presented for their own inherent values and in such a way that they may all be brought to bear on decisions which the individual citizen must make. Standards of excellence and good taste may be set. In countless ways, both direct and subtle, the programs presented on Channel Eleven will have their effect.

Furthermore, the quality of the University is a product not only of research and discussion among its own members but also of the life of the community in which it functions. By subjecting themselves through the use of television to the examination and judgment of their communities, university faculties may grow in wisdom as well as in practical influence. No other medium offers to faculties so immediate a communication with the public, together with so little compromise of their essential independence.

Among other things, educational television should have some impact upon commercial television. The Committee accepts the fact that commercial stations, with their tremendous resources, must be assumed as a necessary, desirable, and usually predominant source of programs for mass audiences. Such stations must also accept the fact that, to the viewer, Channel Eleven is only a flick of the selector away from them. Educational television is a real competition, and they must meet it. Many of those who are employed in commercial television are eager to improve it, but they cannot convince the advertisers and the station managers. An outside point of reference and quality is needed. It is needed equally by the external critics of commercial television. As Channel Eleven grows in excellence, it will provide at least one standard against which other stations may be judged. In the long run, an educational station may raise the level of quality of all television.

Some of the comments on preceding pages may have suggested that television could be a powerful public relations instrument for the University. The Committee believes that one of the consequences of participation in Channel Eleven would indeed be a strengthening of the relationship between the University and the Chicago community. There can be no doubt, however, of the fact that direct promotion of the University's facilities would be unworthy, undignified, and self-defeating. The hortatory intonation of commercial advertising is precisely the tone of voice which educational television should avoid. If the University is respected today, it is because it performs its basic functions well. It can gain further respect by television only if it directs its attention to the proper ends which should be achieved.

In conclusion, then, the broad objectives of educational television are identical with those which should characterize all of the activities of a university. Most distinctively, however, television should be designed and used primarily as an instrument of adult education and of broad community improvement. As such, it will have a powerful impact on both the outside world and upon the University itself. For the quality of a university is related to, and dependent upon, the quality of the society of which it is a part.

SOME PRINCIPLES OF OPERATION

In its recommendations as to how the University might use television as an instrument of general education, the Committee has been guided by certain conceptions of television as a means of communication. The program ideas presented in this report rest upon a number of assumptions about both the possibilities and the limitations of television evaluated from the point of view of the purposes of the University. The Committee has not made a systematic study of the medium, but it has organized the common-sense observations of its members in order to facilitate its work.

COMPARISON OF TELEVISION WITH OTHER MEDIA

The extraordinary versatility of television in comparison with other means of mass communication was one of the considerations plainly acknowledged in the favorable attitude of the faculty toward the Committee's proposal that the University of Chicago should participate in the operation of Channel Eleven. This versatility is best demonstrated by comparing television with other media that have been used by the University. It is important in making such comparisons to observe that in television we should be using not merely a novel physical instrument of reproduction, transmission, and reception, but a new type of communication network whose economic and social characteristics are of crucial importance to the telecaster.

Television and film.—To begin with, to make a helpful comparison between television and the educational motion-picture film, it must be recognized at once that, although television resembles the film in its production and reproduction of audio-visual images, it differs profoundly from the film in its mode of distribution and, therefore, also in the social structure and physical conditions of the audience which receives the image. The educational film is distributed mechanically to out-of-home audiences whose size is dependent on the seating facilities in the place of projection and on the relative success of more or less elaborate prior arrangements in mobilizing interest and overcoming the obstacles that impede the organization of such groups. The television audio-visual image, whether studio "live" program or film, is distributed by cable and wave to home receivers. Educational film systems in the United States, while they reach many people, do not reach the mass audience in the largest sense. The educational film appears to be most successful in serving special audiences, primarily within institutions such as schools, libraries, museums, offices, and plants. The proposed television station, while it can be employed to reach group audiences (as in daytime broadcasts to school classrooms), will reach a mass audience already created by commercial broadcasting and far beyond the reach of mechanically distributed film.

It may be admitted that, from a technical viewpoint, "live" television production is sometimes handicapped because the "live" image does not go through the careful editing and cutting process of film production. In practice, however, the broadcaster may produce his program first on film, when precise editing is essential, or "live" where other values are more important. We have also heard the comment that the nontelevision projected film is superior in "texture" to the image on television. It may be that on occasion the ideal design of a program may have to be sacrificed because of technical limitations of the television image (especially where color is a necessary element), but this seems a minor restriction. Whatever disadvantages each medium might have theoretically, in practice they serve different ends; and there can be little doubt that television offers much greater possibilities for general adult education.

Television and radio. In its discussions with other members of the faculty, the Committee occasionally encountered the argument that for certain purposes, such as the broadcasting of music, radio should be used in preference to television. We also heard the opinion expressed that television is not a suitable medium for the transmission of highly conceptualized thought, that print is the necessary medium for this purpose. Our answer to these views is twofold. First, even if these contentions were true, they would be irrelevant, since in fact we do not have access to radio comparable to the anticipated access of television, nor do we have access to any printed medium of mass circulation comparable in its range and impact with television. Second, we believe it unwise to bind ourselves by any such a priori assumptions about what television can or cannot do. We recommend as a basic principle of educational television that it adopt an imaginative and experimental attitude toward the medium.

It should not be presumed that the formulas evident in commercial broadcasting practice suggest more than a start in the development of the television art. The visual qualities of the television screen are emphasized as if it were assumed that the screen is always viewed or must always be viewed. The fact is that it is possible to blank out the screen or use it for nonobjective patterns that may or may not be attended by the audience while audio programs are broadcast over TV. This change of pace from audio visual to audio can be dramatized in the other direction by shifts from audio-visual to pure visual without audio. It can be assumed that these possibilities and other interesting practices, which are only now being considered by commercial television, might be fully developed by educational television. It should be remembered that a noncommercial broadcaster, who does not have to write off each experiment as a failure if it does not please its first audience, operates with a longer time perspective. The expansion of the art is partly a matter of patiently teaching new expectations and attitudes to new audiences.

IMMEDIACY OF REPORTAGE

The versatility of television distribution is due to its combination of the communicative powers of the sound motion picture with the flexibility and economy of a radio distribution system. The electronic form of television distribution makes possible the direct and instantaneous transmission of an image of on-going events; it cuts out the time-consuming, cumbersome, and expensive distribution procedure required by film and the printed media. Its power to show events at the moment of their occurrence, for example, gives television, like radio, a special significance as a means of mobilizing a community for collective action. From the viewpoint of the university, this mobilization potentiality is probably of little importance; it seems likely that most educational programs would not lose their significance if they were first recorded on film and broadcast later. The commercial broadcasters have found that rebroadcast does not depreciate most of their programs. However, television permits a very flexible schedule, ranging from direct and immediate broadcast of events whose interest is momentary to the broadcast of film material of timeless relevance.

While neither journalistic timeliness nor action-and-opinion mobilization are necessarily high on the list of criteria for university telecasting, it would be unsound to argue that one time is always just as good as another for the presentation of materials that bear implications for contemporary events. It should be a recognized responsibility of the university-as-broadcaster to provide a background of knowledge in depth for the current crises of social action. Furthermore, the definition of "event" employed by commercial TV is noticeably limited to human interest, politics, international news, fashion, and a few other journalistic rubrics. A university might prefer to enlarge or modify such definitions by regarding the announcement of noteworthy changes in scientific theory, or newly observed shifts in social structure, and a variety of other "happenings" as equally interesting "events." The freedom to handle such program materials on an immediate and topical basis would constitute a genuine advantage to the educational broadcaster.

FUGITIVE IMPACT ON THE AUDIENCE

Television broadcasts have the disadvantage of being fugitive, not only fugitive from the viewpoint of the audience, ordinarily leaving no permanent record with the viewer except in memory, but also fugitive in that the broadcaster himself often retains no permanent recording for re-examination or rebroadcasting in the future. However, since methods of recording on film are available, the system is adequately flexible; the telecaster's real problem is to be wise enough to record certain programs that will be valuable in the future, leaving unrecorded those that have only a temporary value.

The circumstance that the audience receives a fugitive communication presents certain problems to the educational telecaster that he has already had some experience with in the use of radio and film. The viewer has no opportunity for concentrated study of television material; and such processes as re-reading, analysis, and the linking of earlier with later phases of exposition have to be provided for in the structure of the program itself. In view of the fact that the University does not anticipate much emphasis on formal procedures of education, these limitations may be of little importance. Where they do prove to be problematic, supplementary aids, such as printed materials, can be used to supply elements of repetition, recall, and continuity to its viewers. In general, the success of an educational broadcasting venture will be measured less by the impact of individual programs than by the cumulative effects of a service through which runs consistently an emphasis on fundamental values.

LOCAL AMBIT OF EDUCATIONAL TELEVISION

The television system, like radio and the newspaper, begins as a local enterprise and may be maintained in whole or in part as a service originating primarily within the community and directed toward the community audience. It is quite different in the field of the action picture film. The prevailing conditions of both entertainment and educational film production and distribution commit them to a national audience. The local dimension of television is of very great significance to the University. Much of the Committee's thought about the role of the University in Channel Eleven contemplates a richness of reciprocal relationships between the University and the city of Chicago. For example, we can imagine the development of a Chicago-centered documentary film service originating within, and distributed to, the community—a service in which the people, events, and problems of the community are given pictorial representation. Conversely, the University itself and its activities will become available to the community in a new way. This does not exclude the telecasting of films and line programs from nonlocal sources. The system is flexible here, too. It can serve as a distribution system for standard films that are not limited in their interest. We expect also to participate in network arrangements with other educational stations, thus sharing programs of more than local interest (and, incidentally, sharing the production costs).

SIMULTANEITY OF RECEPTION

It is an important characteristic of television, derived from its radio characteristics, that the broadcast is received simultaneously by the members of the audience. Like immediacy, this is an attribute that would be of greatest practical significance in mobilizing common discussion of events of the day, in exciting political controversy, or in organizing a population to deal with emergencies. The University's programs would seldom have such a purpose. Nevertheless, the simultaneous reception of its programs by many people could be expected to give rise to discussion and the exchange of opinion in ways not inherent in other forms of communication. Thus, where two or more members of a family view the received program, they are invited to share information and attitudes during an experience which is novel and provocative to each and are provided with the opportunity to discuss it afterwards while the impression is fresh and stimulating. When people have seen the program simultaneously but separately, it can readily become a topic of conversation in their subsequent contacts. The educational implications of such discussion patterns are rather different from, and in some ways more promising than, the discussion patterns characteristically generated by motion pictures and books. They resemble most, of course, the patterns invoked by the daily newspaper or the weekly magazine.

PLANNED "GROUP" RECEPTION

A system that combines the properties of localism, immediacy, and simultaneity is also a medium through which communication may be effectively addressed to, and by prearrangement received by, the members of organized groups in the community. One of our suggested operating principles is that the University provide such programs for the members of local organizations, especially professional societies, such as those of law, dentistry, medicine, etc., whose members would wish to receive periodic reports on research in progress in their fields. It has also been suggested that there are many ways in which a university's programs may be related to the interests and work of scientific amateurs, hobby groups, and craftsmen. It should not be assumed that to address and reach such selected audiences will always amount to a concurrent exclusion of other audiences. It may well be that programs for such "primary" audiences in the selective sense will generate "secondary" audiences of overhearers; and that what we can learn about these overlappings of the special interest and the general interest will prove to be of great theoretical and tactical instruction for us.

A local broadcasting enterprise will provide many opportunities for direct collaboration between the university-as-broadcaster and the members of its audience, since both are immediately available to each other in a way in which for example, the distant movie industry is not available to its clientele. Perhaps the most dramatic suggestions we have received in this connection have to do with ways in which members of the audience might collaborate with university scientists in the conduct of massive experiments where hundreds or thousands of independent subjects, experimenters, or observers are required.

CONTINUITY

A local television system devoted entirely to educational purposes provides for continuity and progression in successive programs. The University is not to be restricted to occasional episodes of communication but can organize series of programs on the same theme. When it seemed desirable, such a series could be progressive, in the sense that each program in the series would represent an advance upon the knowledge communicated in the preceding one. When there is continuity of broadcast service, there can be continuity of audience—the building-up over the course of time of a "following," an audience progressively involved in, and committed to, specific programs or predisposed to view many of the programs contributed by the University.

We should observe that the progressive development of an audience can occur in several ways. It may be that, if the audience for programs of a given type increased steadily in number, it would reach a point where the popularization process would begin to accelerate simply because of the number of people involved in it (on the principle that, when enough people are involved in an activity, the rest do not want to be "left out"). On the other hand, it may be that a certain audience, given successively more complex views of the same subject, might become progressively smaller as the capacities of some of its members were exceeded, but with an increase in the average individual grasp of the subject among the remainder. Again, it may be that shifts in the structure of an audience or in the expression of its response to a program make possible an upward revision of intellectual difficulty and quality without significant losses in number.

The relation between programing and these "developments" in the audience is not that progressive and developmental programing guarantees them but that it is one of the devices by which they can be hastened, measured, and assessed. It is quite possible for an audience to show development in ways not contemplated by the producers; and, likewise, it is possible for developmental programs to fail to hold an audience through cumulative experiences. Nevertheless, wherever true cumulations are achieved, they can have profound effects, not only in the amassing of factual knowledge, but in the gaining of an understanding of the University and its work, of the meaning of science and scholarship, and in the sharing of enlightened attitudes and values.

THE "NATURALISM" OF TV REPORTAGE

How a medium like television may be used is as much a question of what the audience will accept as of the technical requirements or possibilities of the instrument. It is the Committee's impression that audiences have learned to expect that programs produced in and transmitted from "natural" locations (e.g., from a university laboratory or clinic) will be conducted in a casual manner and will lack the finish of theatrical performances or of carefully edited documentary film. Where the role of the television camera is to witness "real" events, the expectations of the audience are adjusted to the conditions of life rather than art. We believe that it will be possible to produce many, if not most, of our programs in a casual, natural, and friendly style which does not seek to create illusions.

Television appears to have redefined "glamor" by depreciating some of the histrionic skills associated with the stage, the radio, and the movies and by emphasizing all the elements of performance that favor a semipersonalized relation between the performer and the audience. Some of this change is the result of changes in production methods (rapid rehearsal of live shows with no possibility of retake), and some of it is the result of changes in the reception situation (the casual, informal, unexcited attitude of the home viewer).

Commercial television producers have experimented with a style that clearly differs from theater and movie style, especially in its cultivation of informality and "amateurism." These tendencies are most obvious where television capitalizes on its candid-camera aspects and makes program material of the unpredictable, low-cost, and all-too-human conduct of the studio audience, the street scene, and so on. In more subtle form they appear as the rather artful tendency to make the "casual" itself a new and higher standard of art. In both types of informality and "amateurism," the performer seems to be responding to his status as a guest of the home by making the audience member a guest of the studio.

These precedents are important for us because they have established a pattern of sociability between performer and audience that undercuts the need for highly contrived dramatization in educational television—and, indeed, puts a premium on some of the very informalities by which modern higher education characteristically goes about its work.

CRITERIA OF SUCCESS

The programs offered by the University will be in competition with those of commercial broadcasting, not in the sense of offering similar content but of offering alternatives. What are the possibilities that educational programs can "succeed" in the face of such competition? The present report is evidence that the Committee believes that the conditions for success are favorable. In discussing the grounds for this belief, it is necessary to treat two separate but related aspects of the question: the criteria of "success" and the favorable conditions of the "market."

When we speak of the competition that educational television can offer commercial television, we need to define our terms. All mass communications are alike in the sense that they compete for attention. Once this is agreed on, certain differences between educational and commercial television emerge more clearly. First, the telecast does not necessarily compete for the largest possible number of viewers, for mass attention. Second, it does not necessarily appeal to the same kind of attention from the viewers, regardless of their number. Third, it does not necessarily obtain attention with, or for, the same kind of commodity that is offered by the commercial television program. The latter generally calls for attention to two commodities, the entertainment and other private values offered by the program, and the commodity referred to in the "commercial." In general, educational telecasts in which an educational value might be "sold" by some process intellectually and artistically distinct from the program itself would probably be ineffective.

We should expect to build up our audiences gradually, over the years, through many conditions and channels of recruitment—our collaboration with professional societies and groups, with local institutions, with segments of the mass audience whose needs are not now being adequately met. We should expect a fruitful interplay between our own increasing proficiency in the production of programs and the rising educational level of the population. In particular, we may look forward to the recruitment of audiences of young people to Channel Eleven through the participation of the public school system, and their continued education, by our own programs as they mature.

As of the present moment, it seems to us that the conditions are very favorable. Commercial broadcasting offers a number of fine programs, but these are but a small proportion of the total broadcast, and many of them come at inconvenient times. In the prime hours of the evening there are many dreary periods when all but the most fanatical seekers after "entertainment" might turn with relief to Channel Eleven. Although we might expect our strongest following to consist at first of people of better-than-average education or those already strongly oriented toward the University, in the long run we might reasonably expect to draw from the relatively uneducated masses. Television, like the film, has the power to provide different levels of meaning for different segments of the audience; even those who cannot absorb fully the conceptual content may be intrigued and stimulated by the visible objects and action or drawn into an effort to understand by their simple human interest in the people who appear in the program. We also think it likely that, though viewers tend to select certain of the popular programs because of an established preference, much of their viewing may be governed by sheer habit of spending a quota of time before the television set, when they shop among the programs available, with relatively undefined expectations and a readiness to become involved in any program that strikes their interest. We may count on the fact that many will respond, because of their involvement in the life of the community, to programs in which the events and conditions of the city life are reflected, and to others because of their interest in discovering what lies behind the façade of those institutions, such as the University, from which the course of their own lives has excluded them. Some may be drawn in the spirit of snobbery, and others, of condescension. That the initial attitude of many may be hostile simply increases the challenge to us to create a natural and friendly atmosphere of invitation.

It is not the proper function of this Committee to try to establish specific criteria for the success of specific programs or of the University's participation, in general, in educational television. This is one of the major problems to be worked out by the institutions participating in Channel Eleven and similar enterprises elsewhere. It is a problem involving difficult theoretical and technical questions. We have, however, made certain assumptions that should be reported.

We have assumed that the criteria for success in educational broadcasting will not be the simple quantitative criteria of commercial broadcasting. This is not to say that the size of an audience is of no consequence, for obviously it would be unreasonable to continue broadcasting a program that had but half a dozen viewers. On the other hand, we should not make the assumption that all the families who own television sets within range of our station are the potential audience for a given program. The potential audience for a program is defined by such factors as the interests to which it is addressed and the level of education presupposed in its content. Such an audience may be a small fraction of the absolute potential audience. Even within such restricted limits, it might not be wise to use a simple quantitative standard. One would have to ask: Who are the audience and what are their characteristics? What does the program mean to them? Are its purposes being realized? Is the audience growing or declining in size, changing in composition in the desired direction, developing in understanding, or failing to keep pace with the program?

It is assumed that educational broadcasting, like education itself and like the University's own research and scholarship, is an activity with long-range time perspective. If we enter educational broadcasting, our intent should be to make it a permanent feature of the University's work.

The Committee suspects that the "how" of educational television is something that is being learned and will have to be learned by experiment. We do not believe that we can predict the form of those experiments, or their success, or even the criteria that would be useful in describing their success or failure. The fact is that for almost every theory of the way in which television establishes (or fails to establish) a relation between producers, productions, and viewers, there is another theory that questions or seriously qualifies it. We must do the best we can to put them to the test of practical experience.

SOME POSSIBLE PROGRAMS

The Committee realizes very well that it encounters certain dangers when it suggests ideas for specific programs. Only practical experience can determine whether a given idea will work. Time, ingenuity, professional competence, and a certain amount of trial and error are all required to perfect a program. But the possibilities and the power of television can be made completely real only if one considers, in fairly concrete terms, some of the programs which can be presented. The Committee therefore presents in random order, and without categorization, certain seeds of program ideas which some day under favorable conditions may germinate.

"Invitation to the University": We now bring to the University thousands of people each year to see one or another of our buildings or physical resources. By television we could bring hundreds of thousands, and we could give each a more direct, immediate, and intimate view. In a series of sessions we could show and explain the cyclotron, the Oriental Institute, the geological museum, the collection of maps, the Rare Book Room, and our other showpieces. We could also take the camera into laboratories, clinics, and other places to which we cannot now admit visitors in person. The program would attempt not merely to show things off but also to have the audience understand how these things contribute to culture and to our society. Above all else, the program should not be designed for public relations but rather to build understanding of what a university really is, what it does, and what kinds of freedom it should have.

"How the University Sees the City": The people themselves see the city as an enormous entity, in some part of which each of them has a place and with which each is familiar. They do not look at the city objectively as the social scientist does. The program might use an infinitely varied theme, with one session or more devoted to such topics as these: the clustering and gradual diffusion of nationality and ethnic groups; the patterns of migration of the people; how slums are created; the variable pattern of overcrowding; the various sociological phenomena of crime, delinquency, homeless men, and poverty; the solutions offered by recreation, education, and specialized courts; the governmental difficulties presented by enormous size; the effect of large size on the pattern and efficiency of government; and the economic difficulties and opportunities presented to the individual who lives in the city. Each session should be built around a person who is an expert on a topic of city life, and each expert should use charts, diagrams, still pictures, and documentary films. Actual films could be made and shown as they illustrate the topic dealt with.

"The People Shall Judge": It is suggested here that a member of the College social-sciences staff lead a series of discussions of basic American documents. His students should include both students in the College and their parents. The values which might be derived are these: a better understanding of the works discussed; a greater appreciation of content-centered discussion as a method of teaching; a better understanding of what constitutes good teaching; and, most important of all, the idea that parents and young people can maintain common bonds through reading and talking together.

"The Major Occupations": This program would be so organized that each week there would be a consideration of one of the occupations in which men and women earn their living. A common core of information—length and kind of preparation, financial and other rewards, main pathways for advancement, and so on—would be included, but each program might take a distinctive form in terms of the occupation considered. There would be a moderator to give continuity; and he would use charts, motion pictures, interviews, and panel discussions as they were appropriate. The program would be designed basically for high-school students and their parents, but it might also have a wide general appeal.

"The Scenes of European History": The European child is brought up in the midst of history and feels it all around him. Americans have many allusions to place names which remain completely unreal to them. Each session of this program would be built around some famous place as it is today. At the start, a historian would give a brief talk, setting forth the historical significance of the scene to be shown and perhaps using pictures or diagrams to illustrate his talk. The scene would then be shown in film as it exists today. Some illustrations might be Hastings, Waterloo, the forest of Compiègne, Versailles, Kronberg Castle, and the Tower of London. If films suitable for the purpose do not exist, they could be commissioned from the television authorities of the foreign countries concerned, since the educational stations of this country will doubtless have close affiliations with them.

"Ballads and Their Backgrounds": The ballad is a piece of folk art, its origins obscure but its appeal universal. Each session might be built around one or two ballads which would be sung, perhaps with variant versions. Some history of the ballad would be given, with an indication of where it originated and how it has spread. The audience might be invited to send in different versions, with some indication of where they were heard. The cosmopolitan population of Chicago might thereby be encouraged to aid in this kind of research.

"The Weather": This program would use current atmospheric conditions not merely for purposes of discussion and prediction but as an illustration of the basic science of meteorology. The instruments used, the way in which data are collected, the classification of various kinds of weather phenomena (clouds, for example), and the presentation of the broad air-mass theory might greatly aid in building an understanding of weather as a scientific phenomenon. If anyone wished, the program might be used as a vehicle of contact with amateur meteorologists who would collaborate in collecting data in much the same way as the Harvard Observatory now uses amateur astronomers.

"The University Interprets the News": This would be a panel program, with one or two constant members and several who would be used on occasion. The main topics of news in the week concerned would be selected, the moderator being careful to include items of long-range as well as immediate significance. Each topic would first be presented factually and then discussed by the panel, the effort being made to get at what lies behind the facts and to interpret what their consequences might be.

"The Government of the City": Chicagoland is governed by an enormously complex, unco-ordinated, and heterogeneous group of governments. This program would attempt to make this fact graphically clear to the people. Each session would present some department or aspect of government, with some thoroughly qualified expert serving as commentator. If possible, we might televise a meeting of the city council or the school board or edit film made at such sessions. We would visit each of the departments of the city, trying to find out what is done by each. We could go out into the ward organization and present, either with comment or with significant silence, some of the things we see. It would also be worth while to present some of the most outstanding proposals for reform, such as home rule and charter revision.

"Distinguished Visitors": This program would put on television, for everyone to see, some of the large number of outstanding persons who come to the University each year. It should not be a periodic program, lest we be tempted thereby to lower our standards of who is distinguished.

"The Human Adventure": For several years the University maintained a radio program by this name, broadcasting it over a nation-wide network. It is essentially the story of discovery and of research, each session being built about some line of inquiry or, more usually, the work of an individual. The radio scripts remain, and they could be readily converted into scripts for television.

"Work in Progress": This program would deal not with completed research but with that which is now going on. Men and women on our campus who are undertaking significant investigations that can be explained to the public would be asked to tell what it is that they are trying to do, demonstrating the equipment they use and the way in which they think about the problems they are trying to solve. The program might have a "roundup" every now and then to ask the investigators to tell how their work is progressing. This program has obvious values in explaining the several disciplines and methods of research, in indicating the nature of scientific inquiry, in illustrating the importance of research in our society, and, possibly, in securing financial support.

"Contemporary Cultures": Most people have little understanding of the habits and ways of life of other countries and other people. This series would use film, drawing from that which is generally available, that which has been taken by anthropologists to record folk customs and rituals, and that which may be available from private sources. The purpose would simply be to give some understanding of how other people live. A basic structure of topics might be developed, so that every program was sure to touch on each. In some cases, people from the cultures concerned—for example, students at International House—might be drawn in for commentary or interview.

"Our Social Agencies": This program would be devoted to the presentation of the goals and programs of the various social and welfare organizations of the city: the hospitals, settlement houses, child care programs, summer camps, and other agencies. Each session of the program should be devoted to one such agency, which may be treated as unique or as typifying the general class of institutions to which it belongs. The program should be broadcast from the agency itself, or, if that proves not to be feasible, a film should be made of the setting. The program might include an interview with the administrative head of the agency and should include, if at all possible, some pictorial representation of the basic services which are performed.

"The Expert Answers": This program would be built around the three resources of an instructional film, an expert in the subject matter concerned, and a small panel of people. A moderator would briefly introduce both the subject and the expert. There would then be shown an instructional film, the expert would make brief comments about it, and the panel would then direct questions to the expert. The range of subjects which are now available on film is enormous, and the topics dealt with could be drawn from all parts of the University.

"Resources for Learning": The idea of this program would be to show the adults the places to which they can go to study and learn. It would include visits to university extension centers, libraries, museums, settlement houses, park-district field houses, evening schools, and industrial and union programs. Although the chief purpose is to build a wider knowledge of available resources, a secondary purpose would be to reinforce the general idea that adults should keep on learning. It would be hoped that this idea would get across to young people so that they do not leave formal schooling with the belief that they are able now to put learning behind them.

"How a Neighborhood Can Take Action": In and around Chicago there are a number of community movements in which the citizens of a particular area are involved. The best illustration is the South East Chicago Commission, but there are many other less extensive efforts, started and fostered by citizens' associations, settlement houses, and schools. Each session of this program should be devoted to some such effort, interviewing the people concerned, finding out what they have learned, making some estimate of accomplishment and what remains to be done, and drawing any general lessons for other communities. Emphasis should be placed on direct action (that is, what the people can do for themselves), rather than on the building-up of pressure groups for action by legislative groups or administrative officials.

"The News in Sciences, the Arts, Business, Education": This program would be broadcast weekly, but each subject would be dealt with once a month. The emphasis would be on giving coverage generally to topics which are not given adequate display in newspapers and news broadcasts. The show would have a continuing moderator for each topic, and he would have the chief task of presenting content. He would heighten interest where he could by bringing in other persons to serve on a panel or to be interviewed, and he would introduce pictures, charts, and other materials as they are appropriate.

"How Children Learn To Read": This program would be designed for parents, for adults who are interested in their own reading abilities, and for teachers who want a refresher course dealing with newer techniques. By actual demonstration with children, such topics as the following would be dealt with: the determination of reading readiness, learning to recognize words, the introduction of phonics, developing concepts for reading unfamiliar material, the use of the dictionary and other sources, and reading for a specific purpose.

"Learning To Read Better": This program would be designed directly for adults and would approach the idea of reading from a number of angles. Some of the topics would be the diagnosis of poor reading, the improvement of reading rate, the building of vocabulary, and logical or analytical methods for getting meaning from the printed page. It is possible that a direct remedial course might be given on television, but one would need to approach such a course with a great caution in order not to promise too much and in order to permit of proper treatment of individual differentiation.

"What Can I Do?": Each session would deal with the ways in which the citizen can take independent action about pervasive social problems, such as: "How do I behave when a friend makes remarks which indicate race prejudice?" "What do I do when I hear a rumor that the house next door has been sold to Negroes?" "What do I do when my son is beaten up by a gang on the way home from school?" This program would need a continuing moderator. For each problem a panel, composed of both professors and lay citizens, would be chosen. The panel would be encouraged on occasion to place itself in the situation and act out some of the answers.

"How Chicago Is Fed": This program would illustrate the operation of basic principles of economics through taking one large area of human activity and examining it thoroughly. Through focusing on this one central topic, there could be given a realistic picture of the intricate systems of production, transportation, and financing of food. The medium used would probably be commentary aided by extensive use of films or live broadcasts. While major attention would be centered on the more immediate and specific handling of foods, the series should certainly include a consideration of the work of the Board of Trade and the Stock Exchange.

"Toward a More Perfect Democracy": Various kinds of social reform are now being proposed by responsible groups in our society. They have to do with city planning, housing, government reform, improved health and sanitation, planned parenthood, crime prevention, and the like. In each session, some faculty member who has studied the proposed reform and supports it should present its basic ideas, using straight exposition, interviewing, discussion, visual aids, and conducted tours as these best suit his purpose.

"Ways of Life within the City": Various national and ethnic groups in Chicago live in distinctive community patterns, to some extent submerged within the city and to some extent distinct from it. Usually each group lives in its own neighborhood and imposes its pattern upon the area. This program would be devoted to a series of explorations, each session being given over to one group. The medium used might be direct broadcasting from the neighborhood involved, but films combined with commentary might provide a more flexible and interesting pattern.

"Sunday Service": This program would be a telecast of the weekly religious service from Rockefeller Chapel, perhaps varied on occasion with broadcasts from one of our other chapels in the University and in its neighborhood. This program would have its own direct religious significance, but also it would serve to remind the city constantly of one of the important aspects of the life of the University.

"Aging Successfully": This program would be the vehicle for communicating the research findings of the various studies now being done on the Quadrangles concerning the problems of the aged. It could take many forms. Initially it might present, in a series of sessions, certain basic concepts of how life may be made more satisfying for the aged. It might indicate the work being done by various social, recreational, and educational agencies to offer assistance to such people. It might even offer certain case studies of successful adjustment, if such studies could be done with dignity and taste. Finally, it might offer suggestions for fruitful personal activity on the part of the aged. If desired, the program might also be the vehicle for securing information to be used in research efforts.

"Visits to Places of Religious Interest": Chicago has churches of many denominations. This program would, at each session, visit a particular church (either directly or by film), show anything which is distinctive about its religious symbols and orientations, and provide an opportunity for the minister of the church to explain the set of beliefs and doctrines which he professes. The program should have a continuing moderator who is familiar with comparative religion; and, in interviewing the minister, he should be careful to bring out the particular applications of certain general themes which would run throughout the series.

"An Introduction to Chamber Music": The small size of the television screen makes it particularly suitable for activities in which only a few people are concerned. At the same time, some kind of diversity is desirable. These considerations would seem to indicate that chamber music would be initially the most desirable form of instrumental music to present. The program would be composed of both explanation and performance. Initially the presentation should be extremely simple, emphasis being laid on such topics as the basic musical themes, the structure of the composition, and the ways in which the instruments interact. To avoid atomization, each program should present one piece which is played through from beginning to end without interruption.

"Tomorrow's Home": This program would be designed for those who are planning to build a home or who might wish to build one some day. It would also be of interest to these who are generally interested in the problems of housing and architecture. It should take up such questions as the location of the house on the lot, selecting an architect, determining the optimum size of the house, planning the interior, and introducing provisions for flexibility. The basic medium used would be the lecture with profuse illustrations, including an occasional use of film.

"The World of Maps": This program would present a straightforward explanation of maps and map-making. The basic problems, and the solutions advanced, would be explained. The method used would be an informal lecture, with very heavy use of the University's map collection.

"Approaches to Peace": Many different disciplines and professions are concerned with the need for peace. This program would present a series of illustrated talks, showing how each profession thinks it is attacking the problems. Among those involved would be the diplomat, the educator, the scientist, the public health official, the political scientist, the economist, the theologian, and the humanist. The University should draw both from its own faculty and from outside to locate the persons who are to speak; and, if possible, men of great prestige and experience should be used. Perhaps this program might be put on film for wide circulation to other stations.

"Preparation for the Symphony": Every Sunday afternoon during the winter the Columbia Broadcasting System presents the New York Philharmonic Symphony. This program would, in effect, get people ready to hear the program. Based on the list of works to be performed, the lecture would present suitable background material, using the piano to sketch themes and the blackboard to indicate the structure of the compositions. If desirable, some information about the composer could be presented.

"The Elements of Beauty": This program would focus directly on objects of beauty, each session being given over completely to one object or a small group of them. The lecturer (or perhaps a panel) would try to express in words the essence of the beauty of the objects, perhaps presenting for contrast other articles in which this beauty is not displayed. The whole emphasis would be on concentration on the work of art itself and the insights which may be derived from the examination of it.

"Theatrical Dancing": The program would combine lecture, illustration, and performance. The kinds of dancing presented could range from highly formalized classical ballet to very simple folk dances, and the goal should be both analysis and appreciation. Any actual performances should be of a highly professional sort; there are many films now available which could be used for this purpose.

"Architecture in Chicago": Chicago has been the place from which much modern architecture has sprung, and the city also contains examples of many forms and types. This program would explore the interesting ideas which were first developed here, with the television camera visiting, either directly or on film, some of the famous buildings and examining their distinctive features. The goal should be not to glorify Chicago but to create understanding of the nature of architecture and of the goals which outstanding architects have sought and are seeking.

"How a Television Station Operates": This program would simply turn the camera on the station itself and indicate both the technical processes which are used and the ways in which ideas get translated into action. It would be designed to satisfy the curiosity of the viewers and, perhaps, to make them understand and support the station.

"Honorary Degree": On those rare occasions on which the University awards an honorary degree, it might well devote a program to the work and the unique distinction of the recipient. The purpose of this program would be to provide a kind of case study of the values which lead to outstanding eminence in the academic world.

"What's in Your Attic": This program, which would be built around the collection of historical documents and objects, would be intended to stimulate people to collect materials of importance for the history of localities, areas, and periods of development of the Chicago area and the Middle West.

"On Stage": This program would deal with the lore of the theater. Visits would be made directly or by film to various kinds of theaters including the Elizabethan. Attention would be given to the procedures and paraphernalia of theatrical production, with biographies of famous playwrights and actors, permitting the use of visual materials, including handbills.

"The Dialogues of Plato": Two members of the faculty have already begun to develop a possible program on Plato that involves the dramatization of certain dialogues or portions of dialogues.

"The Geography of the Chicago Area": As its name indicates, this program would explore and describe the basic geographic attributes and their interesting variations which are to be found in the city and its vicinity.

"The Art Studio": A representation of the development of works of art by the various processes, including painting, ceramics, and sculpture. Every step of the process of the creation of a real work of art would be illustrated.

"The Craft Studio": This program would be very like the foregoing except that it would deal more particularly with weaving, woodworking, pottery, and the other handicrafts.

"The Amateur Photographer": Analysis and criticism of photographs, either "stills" or motion pictures, submitted by members of the television audience. Special information for this program might be derived from the Humanities Department as well as from the Physics and Chemistry departments.

"Pure and Applied Science, or Science and Technology": This program would attempt to show the relations between the work of the pure scientist interested only in understanding nature and the work of the applied scientist and technologist. This would need to be somewhat historical in nature and could start from views of industrial processes in the Chicago area, tracing back to the original discoveries on which they are based. One such specific example might be "Inside a Steel Mill."

Start with shots showing operation of a modern steel mill producing some material for a special purpose. Show the structure of this steel as determined both by microscopic methods and by X-ray diffraction; and give brief résumés of the development of these means of study, the relation of the structures observed, and the treatment to which the metal is being subjected, as well as the resulting properties which can be visualized either by testing or by actual service demonstration. The Chicago area is very rich in industrial processes of scientific background, and interesting programs could be made by oscillating between large-scale, spectacular industrial operations and work in university and other laboratories showing the science back of it. Through these programs great care should be taken to see that the impression is not left that university science has only a utilitarian value, and every effort must be made to show the aesthetic and primary intellectual appeal of science.

"The Elements": Ninety-eight chemical elements—different species of matter—are known. Even in the Bible about six of these are mentioned, and in 1870 fifty-six were known. By 1925 about eighty-five had been identified. A story of the history of the discovery of the elements can be made not only instructive, but fascinating. Charts, photographs, and movies could be used as supplementary material. A number of interesting stories can be associated with the discovery of the elements. For example, it can be shown that the misinterpretation of the results of a few chemical experiments delayed discovery of several elements for a period of 125 years. This program would be primarily a lecture supplemented with numerous types of materials for purposes of illustration.

"Paleontology": A possible theme is the origin and development of life. This should be carried out in co-operation with various areas of the University and adjacent museums. It could form the basis of an exceedingly interesting series of programs. A second theme could deal with the origin, accumulation, exploration, and production of petroleum. This would be a co-operative venture in which paleontology would play only one of the principal roles.

"Water Resources of the United States": A dramatic series of programs is possible under this heading. Many films have been made. On-the-spot programs on water-supply problems in Chicago are possible.

"Carbon 14": The discovery of Carbon 14 in all living matter, which when removed from the life-cycle undergoes radioactive decay with a half life of about 5,000 years, makes it possible to determine the age of materials containing carbon, particularly in the age range of 1,000-20,000 years. This discovery is of interest to archeologists and geologists due to the fact that it is possible to determine, with considerable accuracy, the age of specimens containing carbon. A series of programs could be developed showing the technical equipment and procedure for making the measurements, the materials used for the measurements, and the importance and application of the results.

"Geiger Counter Demonstrations": Geiger counters and other types of counting instruments could be illustrated by suitable charts in regard to design, and the counters could be heard and flashing lights could be seen as they respond to the various radioactivities exhibited by a number of different materials. The Geiger counters could also be demonstrated for the detection of lost sources of radioactive substances, for example, radium; for measuring the radioactivity of the atmosphere; and for surveying laboratories and other places where a radioactive hazard might be present.

"High-Energy Accelerator Machines": A program could be developed to demonstrate the principles of operation of high-energy machines, such as the cyclotron, the betatron, the Van de Graaff generator, and the cosmotron. Furthermore, demonstrations could be made of the use of these machines for studying the properties of matter.

"The Chain-reacting Pile": Sufficient information is now available to make it possible to describe in complete detail the small experimental chain-reacting piles, of which several are in use in the country. A series of programs would have as its beginning the first chain-reacting pile at Stagg Field at the University and would terminate in one of the more recent reactors and in predictions for the design of future power reactors. The different uses that could be made of these reactors in physics, chemistry, and particularly in biology and medicine could be demonstrated.

"Composition of the Solar System": An interesting program could be devised, dealing with the composition of matter and the distribution of different types of matter in meteorites, with the objective of presenting the different ideas related to the composition and origin of the solar system. This topic is a general one and could be broken down into many categories, such as the composition of the moon, the surface of the moon, and similar topics.

"The Structure of Matter": A series of programs could be designed on the level of interest to the layman, describing what we believe to be the structure of different species of matter, what are the elementary particles composing matter, how these particles are arranged and associated with each other, and what changes occur when chemical reactions take place. Supplementary materials in the form of charts, movies, and photographs would be needed.

"Everyday Chemistry": Everyone uses every day a large number of different materials which are products of chemistry. One need mention only a few, such as rubber, nylon, plastics, soap, paint, pharmaceuticals, and gasoline. What are these substances and how are they produced? In other words, what is the story behind each of them? Also the question of hazards in the handling of many chemicals we encounter every day could be emphasized. In this regard, safety education programs could be developed.

"Human Heredity": We are all curious about how we came to be the way we are—our stature; eye color; hair color, whether it is straight or curly, or why some become bald while others do not. Problems connected with marriage and having children arise because of hereditary factors: hemophilia, Rh factor, feeble-mindedness. All of these and others could be discussed in a series of programs which would have great personal appeal over a long period. Pictures of people and of affected structures and diagrams of family lineage could be used to good effect. In the context of these problems a great deal of fundamental genetics and biology could be taught.

"How the Body Functions": Almost everyone is anxious for more knowledge about how his own body functions. This normal curiosity is heightened whenever there is some malfunction. Satisfaction of this curiosity not only permits more rational and assured planning of personal habits, but in many cases unnecessary concern can be prevented or alleviated. For years the demonstrations in the College courses in physiology have been popular and instructive. Without recourse to animal experimentation involving vivisection, it is possible to demonstrate strikingly the function and role in the body's economy of all of the body's organs.

"Through the Microscope": One of the most successful public demonstrations at world's fairs, science museums, and scientific meetings is the microvivarium. Pond animalcules, bacteria, molds, and other microörganisms are only a part of the microscopic work which can be shown in motion on the television screen. So great is the variety of available cell types and so many are the experiments which can be done with them that this program could run for an almost unlimited time. Furthermore, it should require little rehearsal. Once a satisfactory microscope is set up in conjunction with a television camera, one need only provide live material and a commentator who can help the audience understand and enjoy what is seen. There should be a great element of spontaneity in this program. Also it should be more than a scientific peep show in that discussion of the activities of the cells and their parts should teach a great deal of fundamental physiology.

"Preparation for Parenthood": Children are our most precious resource, yet vast numbers of present and potential parents know virtually nothing in any real sense of the biological and psychological aspects of their prenatal and postnatal development. Our Department of Obstetrics and Gynecology has had extensive experience in counseling prospective mothers and fathers during the period before the birth of their children. At the University and at the Museum of Science and Industry are a wealth of models and materials for demonstrating the embryological development of the child. Our Department of Pediatrics in conjunction with psychiatrists and sociologists could continue the counseling with regard to postnatal development.

"Plants and Their Growth": The topics dealt with on this program could range from such mundane ones as how to grow a lawn or plants in a window box to discussions of the geological history of the area and its influence on the natural flora of the region. Plants lend themselves particularly well to time-lapse photography, so that movies showing plant growth, flowers blooming, and other plant functions can readily be prepared. Telecasts of gardens and forest, besides their aesthetic value, would acquaint the public with places they might wish to visit on outings. Acquaintance with new plant forms, particularly with forms well suited to grow in this area, should not only be satisfying to the viewer but also might encourage beautifying the city.

"Mathematical Biology": In addition to dealing qualitatively with phenomena in the biological and social sciences, it is possible to describe many systems in more or less precise mathematical terms and to make predictions about them. Such matters as spreading of rumors, the effect of size of group on unanimity of opinion, and related matters hold great public interest.

CONCLUSION

Throughout its discussions the Committee has been sensitive to the dangers of excessive fascination with the novelty of television. Its concern has been with what the University might have to say, not with technical devices. What the University has to say appears, upon examination, to be vital to the continuing health of our society. As for the technical machinery itself, we recommend the judgment of Henry David Thoreau:

> Our inventions are wont to be pretty toys, which distract our attention from serious things. They are but improved means to an unimproved end, an end which it was already but too easy to arrive at; as railroads lead to Boston or New York. We are in great haste to construct a magnetic telegraph from Maine to Texas; but Maine and Texas, it may be, have nothing important to communicate.—*Walden*.

notes
and
essays on education for adults

number
6

A School for Optimists

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A

School for Optimists

By

Paul A. McGhee

DEAN, DIVISION OF GENERAL EDUCATION
NEW YORK UNIVERSITY

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
1953

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PREFACE

In this pamphlet the Center presents three papers by Paul A. McGhee. The title of the pamphlet derives from the first paper - "A School for Optimists." This paper is an extract from Dean McGhee's 1951-52 Annual Report to the Chancellor of New York University. The second paper, "Higher Education and Adult Education: Four Questions" is based on an address presented at the Eighth National Conference on Higher Education at Chicago on March 6, 1953. We are grateful to the Association for Higher Education and especially its executive secretary, Dr. Francis Horn, for permission to publish the paper in this form. The third paper, on "Groupmanship," has not appeared elsewhere.

The broad purpose of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults is to provide aid and leadership to the germinating forces that can develop the evening college movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults. It is in line with this purpose that we publish these three papers. For although the Center does not necessarily endorse all of Dean McGhee's views, we do believe that he is an imaginative person whose stimulating statements will further help adult education in the university to reach intellectual maturity as a professional activity in its own right.

John B. Schwertman, Director

Chicago, Illinois
June, 1953

The Center for the Study of
Liberal Education for Adults

A SCHOOL FOR OPTIMISTS

What unique contribution can a university or college make to the cause of adult education? We can train the individual for democratic leadership.

To be a leader in a democratic society one need not become governor nor the mayor, nor even an alderman, but he must make his influence felt within or upon a group or community. In order to do this, the individual must have something to contribute or add to the group. One would not ordinarily propose such a cliché without some embarrassment. But it may be that the proposition is not so obvious as one might suppose.

There is a great deal being written these days about the Group. There is even a virtual cult of the Group. The implication is often that virtue and significance exist in the Group per se; that one will automatically find one's soul by losing it in the Group. Sometimes this takes a persuasive and insidious form in the world of business and industry, where the young and ambitious executive is encouraged to identify himself so completely with the company's point of view, purpose, and character that he must inevitably lose his individual identity in the process. Thus he becomes "safe": someone who can be "counted on" to represent the company's interests without the interposition of his individual critical faculties. Contemporary social science research indicates that this is not far-fetched as an observation on the relationship of the individual to the corporation or business enterprise. It may also be noted in passing that more and more people are content with the political participation implicit in their formal or informal membership in pressure groups of various kinds.

But this does not represent personal participation in the democratic process. It is true that one can sometimes find one's soul by losing it in a larger idea. And many apparently empty and purposeless lives are filled and enriched through dedication to a cause into which their energies can be poured, and in which their loyalties can be absorbed. Such a dedication is possible in the church, or in the idea of the United Nations, or perhaps in Moral Re-Armament, or World Federation, or in the cause of democracy itself.

But let it be noted that in each of these identifications, one gives oneself to an idea within which the individual himself remains important, within which the individual human personality can be nurtured and brought into full flower. Not all such identifications are so beneficent and rewarding to the individual. On the contrary, many of them seek his obliteration and absorption into the mass.

Even potentially enriching ideas such as those cited above often are not easily translated into individual action in which identity with the idea is clear-cut. The truth is that the circumstances of our daily lives appear to constitute a multi-faceted conspiracy to diminish the individual personality by attrition. Everywhere are pressures towards conformity, towards acceptance of group mores and group values. To take a personal stand becomes a risk. To be an individual is to invite the charge of eccentricity, if not radicalism.

Our triumphs of modern mass communication give no heed to the individual, nor do they invite exchange from him. The Hooper rating is enough, for this is indeed "mass" communication. As such it has its place and its potentialities. Yet few individuals will grow in their individual strength from it nor will many take courage from the images on the television screen. The event becomes one more experience in which the individual remains anonymous and unrecognized.

Education itself, as an institution, has not arrayed itself strongly against the forces which seek the atomization of the individual. Despite the brave words spoken at innumerable commencement occasions about education as an unending process, the fact is that the idea of finishing is more prevalent than the idea of continuing education. The high school diploma and the several degrees following advanced education have been structured into our society as terminal points. It has only been within recent years that university agencies have been developed to foster and organize continuing programs of study for adults. And it has not always been clear whether these measures were taken from a genuine belief in their importance in a democratic society, or as a desirable "public relations" move, or as a method of procuring additional revenue.

But it is clear that the diminishment of the individual is the diminishment of the democratic dream, in which it is assumed that the individual is important. Those forces which reduce the stature and importance of the individual are inimical to democracy, though they serve well the totalitarian group, where the individual loses his identity in the State. Conversely, those agencies which assist the individual to discover and develop his potentialities serve to implement the democratic dream.

Adult students in returning to school reflect a fundamental spirit of optimism. Adult education at its most effective involves people who come back to school not only as a personal defense against the "Great Fear," but as a direct challenge to it and as a confirmation of man's invincible idealism. It is the most creative reply that can be made to the "Great Fear." Whether consciously or not, these students are people who stubbornly refuse to lose their individual identity. They insist on making their own individual communication to society; they are unwilling to be lost in a great, anonymous, faceless mass of humanity.

Ten zeros added together equal only zero. But the person who stubbornly goes on learning and growing is qualifying himself to be One in the simple equation of democracy. If he works hard, learns much, and respects his fellow men, he may become a leader or spokesman for ten or a hundred or a million. But he will never be a zero. If he adds his identity to a group, he will be adding One. And this is the necessary preparation for leadership. It is the necessary preparation, too, for being a follower, for in a democratic society a follower is one who has sought to discover, by the exercise of his own critical faculties, the destination to which he is being led, and who has freely chosen to follow. Not everyone can be a leader in the narrow sense of the term, but in a free society the individual responsibility of those who follow is scarcely less great.

Such is, we believe, the nature of the underlying drive and zest for continuing study. It is well that we recognize it for what it is, since misconceptions as to the nature of adult education are still prevalent. It is said, for example, that adult education is for the great unwashed, for the educationally underprivileged. An answer at New York University to this charge might be found in the fact that almost one-third of our adult students during the past year have been college graduates. Another and better answer might be that all men are educationally underprivileged.

It is said that in these days man's insecurity is such that he seeks escape into literature and art. It is true that we live in the shadow of fear, but what must be affirmed above all else, as William Faulkner has said in accepting the Nobel Prize, is that the spirit of man will survive any catastrophe that we can imagine or foresee. And whatever the anxieties and insecurity of a student may be, he is one who has kept alive in himself that light or fire that makes him a man.

We speak too much of the insecurity of our students, their loneliness and anxiety. The very fact that they come to us declares that they have healthy blood in their veins. It is not a question of determining their needs but of accepting their own diagnosis with sincerity and friendliness. When they come to a writing course or a music course they have diagnosed their needs. The odds are that they are right, and it becomes our duty to make their therapies effective. The view that art, the life of thought, is the product of neurosis is utterly wrong. Art and the greater existence of thought and feeling are in fact the health of man made visible. The desire to grow and to create is the health-seeking effort of man's mind.

Catastrophies bear down upon us and we stand up to them with whatever strength we have. Those whose growth has stopped will be the more easily overborne. It is the empty man who creates the hysterical forces in our society. But students, of whatever age, can oppose catastrophe with the force gained from the momentum of their own development. No little resistance will come even from those who have gained confidence and self-assurance from mastering a limited and practical skill, for the yeast of growth is in them and their lives are on the rise. And better than others, we suspect, the man who loves literature, art, philosophy, and music will bear up under the stresses of our times. The life of the spirit is not an escape from the world but a challenge and an answer to it.

In adult education, then, we must seek to offer opportunities for the development of the individual, so that he may qualify and serve as a leader, or as an intelligent follower, and in some measure vindicate, by his own example, the idea of the importance of the individual in a democratic society. This may come from the immediately useful study of tool subjects such as public speaking, history, and government. Or, more indirectly, from mastering technical skills which are needed in our time. Let no one question the place nor the hour nor the year when a man shall give himself to the beneficent and expanding experience of study. For wherever a student may begin, the beginning itself is all; the end no one can foretell. And if, finally, he seeks to participate in the world of creative art and lay up treasures of the spirit, then he becomes a custodian of man's best tradition - his invincible idealism.

With respect to adult education there have been many and valid doubts about the means. But there has never been any doubt about the end.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND ADULT EDUCATION: FOUR QUESTIONS

If the relations between higher education and adult education were generally agreed upon, then we might concern ourselves only with the new forms, the new opportunities and challenges that adult education may present to higher education during the years ahead. But I doubt that we can assume any such general agreement. However un-forward looking it may seem, it is my purpose therefore to re-examine certain basic questions which require decisions before there can be any forward movement with anything like a common front.

Question One: What are the basic relations of higher education to adult education?

Let us define our area. Adult education, if we in higher education are to be related to it, must first mean education in the somewhat homely, limited sense of the word – the process of acquiring those liberalizing methods and concepts that provide unity and direction for an individual's thinking and action. It means adults learning something worth learning, something higher education can teach them – or assist them to learn – consonant with the aims of education as defined in the Harvard Report: "to prepare an individual to become an expert both in some particular vocation or art and the general art of the free man and the citizen." It means this kind of education under the auspices of or in association with colleges and universities.

We could narrow our problem if we were to define adult education only in terms of those non-degree courses, discrete seminars, conferences, institutes and other activities in which an institution engages from a sense of its larger responsibility to the community, local, national, and international. But for purposes of this discussion I am assuming that evening-college degree credit programs fall properly within the province of adult education.

In the broadest sense, of course, a college or university is constantly affecting the life of the adult community through the multiple, isolated impacts which its individual members make in publishing generally readable books and articles, in individual radio and television appearances, and not least in their individual participation as citizens in the on-going life of the community. All this is "adult education." But let us here consider the matter more narrowly and look at those schools, divisions, or departments which an institution creates in order to organize and focus its interests in adult education.

To the question: "Cannot each institution, or school within an institution, make its own separate plans and arrangements in adult education?" I would not urge an unequivocal No. Adult education is a big building with many rooms, large and small, many wings, hallways, and doors. To designate one door, or one or two rooms as those most appropriate for higher education will inevitably seem arbitrary. Such judgments reflect our varied experiences; our very different institutional potentialities; and our different beliefs about the place and function of a college or university in the community. Let us agree that there is no single best method or plan for a college or university to adopt in committing itself to the purposes of adult education.

Yet it is well to insist that adult education has its own separate identity, an identity arising not from its possession of a discrete subject matter, like that of law or medicine, but perhaps from the special concern for a unity of life and knowledge which characterizes adult students. And there are pedagogical skills for us to acquire, as there are in elementary and secondary education. There are, in fact, so many special problems and issues in adult education that however higher education comes into it, there must surely be one school, division or department which makes them its special concern. Only where there is such a separate agency can the full energies of an institution be released and co-ordinated with maximum effectiveness.

How shall we judge the attempt of a particular institution to relate itself to adult education? The major role of higher education in adult education, if it is accepted as an institutional responsibility, will usually be found in the agencies called the University College, Evening College, or Extension Division. In an urban institution we can judge the relation by investigating what goes on in the evening hours; what intramural prestige the University College or evening session has in terms of its separate identity and the status and authority of those who work in it. To put it negatively: if we find that the evening session is a weak and colorless appendage of the day session, with all important authority vested in day-college department heads or other daytime administrators; if we find that the evening session is a kind of catch-all for the leftovers of institutional personnel, facilities, and administrative energies, then we will be entitled to believe that *that* institution has not given much thought to the essentially unique character of adult education, or to its responsibilities, or to the opportunities in this field. Its evening session, we may then conclude, is an expression of opportunism rather than of institutional philosophy. The sincerity of an institution's commitment can usually be determined by an analysis of the character of this school or division.

We can sometimes judge how serious a college is about its role in adult education by discovering whether or not it has organized any special courses for adult students which have no reference to credits or established degrees. If there are such, why were they organized? From a positive belief in the importance of continuing education and a conviction of institutional responsibility? To produce extra income? From an uneasy sense that they constitute good public relations? How are they regarded intramurally? With some sense of apology? As if perhaps the true ends or values of higher education were being betrayed?

Finally, there is the responsibility, which many institutions have accepted, for training those who will become leaders in community-oriented, public school-centered programs of adult education. Institutions of higher learning are relatively few in number, and they cannot hope to touch significantly large numbers of our adult population. Although the annual registration of adults in New York University's Division of General Education seems to us large, their number is about one-twelfth of the weekly population of Radio City Music Hall, a hundredth of the probable audience for a single national television program of no intellectual pretensions.

The fact is that the total province of adult education is so vast that no single institution can hope to do more than its share. Even if our hearts were pure, we should need the strength of more than ten to make our influence felt. We must study carefully how and where in the large lake to throw our stone so that the waves we create will wash up on distant shores. Obviously the public schools of the country must play an important role - many think it most important. The multitude of communities throughout our country must come together with the public school as their focus and energizing force. No university or college could hope to exert local influence comparable to that of the public school which has been created by a community and is an integral part of it. The Extension divisions of state universities, with large subsidies from their legislatures, can carry the influence and resources of the university to the farthest reaches of the state, but even their influence must fall short of that exerted by the public schools if they are dedicated to the service of their communities. Indivisible from the community likewise are the many civic, professional, parent-teacher and church groups which have their special role to play in adult education as broadly conceived.

We must discover how to relate ourselves to these community-centered programs, how to add our strength to that of the local administrators and teachers who must of necessity carry the heaviest load. It must be our concern, too, to influence these programs so that they too will offer education for adults and not a variety of other kinds of experiences under the name of adult education.

Question Two: Will it make any difference in our institutional fortunes if we disclaim or accept any responsibility in adult education?

There is no wisdom in imputing a higher sense of social responsibility to one institution than to another because it does or does not choose to organize particular areas of education. One institution, for example, may say, "We consider it our sole function to offer valid training for the liberal arts (or engineering, or business) degree. Don't criticize us for not doing what we never intended to do. All our resources are engaged in the job at hand." Another institution says "We live in the country - we have no community except our own degree community. How could we, and why should we, find some adult education area to work in?"

Let us agree at the outset that institutional circumstances and resources, physical, geographical, and organizational, often control and apparently delimit what an institution can do, whatever its philosophy may be.

But if we must still attempt an answer to this question: A college or university which neglects the educational interests of adults in its community will find that these adults will pay less and less attention to the institution. We sometimes talk as if the community, local or national, owes the educational institution a living, as if the community should somehow rise to its support if it is under attack or financially ill-nourished. But why should it, if the community has no real stake in the institution? In these days when individual donors of great welath, such as the Dukes, Rockefellers, Eastmans, and Harknesses, do not exist, when endowment incomes are shrinking as institutional costs steadily rise, the private institution, certainly, and perhaps not less the public institution, must demonstrate its value to the community within which it lives. Why should people feel identified with the interests of the college or university if it does not choose to identify itself with them and with the problems of their lives? I doubt that there is some sufficiently compelling abstract principle that will serve to rally the community to the support of the institution. I suggest, therefore, that from considerations of survival alone a college may well organize its resources to serve the continuing educational needs of the community.

At Commencement we pay tribute to the idea of education as a continuing process. But the fact is that too often we talk continuing education and practice terminal education. This is perhaps because as academicians we are orderly. We respect rules and regulations, design and pattern, authority and prerequisites. Thus we admire the neat confines and orderly process of the degree curriculum. In contrast, the patterns of continuing education are difficult to define and will not stay defined; the needs are exigent but sometimes ephemeral; the credentials of authority are difficult to identify and prerequisites impossible to evaluate.

What will happen if we pass by on the other side of adult education? The community, without our help and using its own leadership, will organize to meet its educational needs. Here, for example, is a large company with an extensive educational program of its own. Here is another company organized to go about the country conducting training for business management. And here is the American Management Association itself conducting a veritable College of Management of its own! There is, *per se*, no reason against this and every reason for it. But when, by default of the college or university, other community agencies come into being to organize materials and study programs on what appears to be the "college level," then surely both the college and the community are losers.

The needs of lawyers, accountants, engineers, and business men for continuing study are well known to all of us. New materials come on the market; new techniques are discovered; new legislation is put on the statute books; new management patterns evolve. Shall we say that we in the colleges will have no part in organizing and communicating these new methods, skills, and ideas? We can hardly persuade ourselves that all these new materials and methods originate in our laboratories, research departments, or our professional journals. If not, then there is much for us to *learn* too, as well as to share in teaching. How shall we come into possession of all this new experience, to evaluate it and pass it on to the new generation, if it is organized and communicated with no participation from us?

Our answer to Question Two, then, must be: If we say adult education – which is to say continuing education – is not our job, other agencies will be created to take up the task. But higher education will then lose friends, students, allies, and leadership. At that point we will perhaps recall from the recesses of memory, for such grim humor as it may afford, the old and no doubt apocryphal story of the headline in a London paper when storms had cut the cables from France. The headline ran: "Continent Isolated!"

Question Three: *What can we do that other institutions cannot do just as well?*

This question often ill conceals a desire to escape the responsibility and the very considerable, special investment of time and study required by adult education. To provide a rationalization for our institutional lethargy is easy. Our energies, we maintain, are dedicated to and consumed by the daytime degree school offering. How can we muster additional energies and time for this irregular, unaccredited enterprise? And the department head asks, "How do you know there will be any students for Professor Smith's class if we allow you to borrow him?"

True, these problems are not easy. But still the answer is, as before: If the colleges wish to escape their responsibility, society will not challenge them. Other means will be provided and society will undertake to meet its own continuing educational needs. But the community could not then be served by its best trained teachers and scholars, those who should be able beyond others to keep it from error and false gods. There is lost, too, the knowledge that the college or university is truly concerned with the problems of the community, and this concept of separateness of interest will do neither party any good.

Moreover, if college teachers give over the position of educational leadership to other agencies and to individuals trained in a less rigorous discipline, the content of adult education may become not education, but something else using the name of adult education. This is by no means to disparage those teachers who are not immediately attached to the college community. Any worker in adult education knows that the college employs only a small number of the good teachers in our society. But this makes the challenge to college teachers and administrators all the more compelling. Shall we, who have undergone so many years of disciplined study, give over the leadership in adult education to others? Does not, indeed, our scholarship impel us to the task? One of our best teachers of philosophy has written of the crucial importance of adult education: "When adult education is conceived and organized to minister to the continuing intellectual needs and interests of a democracy, it furnishes the steady light in which the spirit of freedom can refresh and sustain itself."[1] If this is the end of adult education, to furnish a "steady light in which the spirit of freedom can refresh and sustain itself" - can college people afford to delegate their responsibility?

If it is true, as many believe, that adult education is the most important kind of education today because the urgency of the problems that face us and call for solution by adults before it is too late, is it not also true that college teachers should be best qualified by years of training to sift and evaluate the issues of our world, and to communicate and clarify these issues against the background of adult experience? Is it not inconceivable that they should be content to pass by on the other side and leave to others the stating of those issues and the choices they present? These others may, or may not, be less competent as teachers and leaders of discussion. But surely we must hesitate to let it be supposed that ours is not an equally serious concern. The dangerous game being played in the arena of today's world calls for professionals, for the "first team." If college teachers can make the team, - and certainly not all of them can! - then surely they owe it to "our side" to undergo the discipline of training.

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[1] Sidney Hook, reviewing James Bryant Conant's Education and Liberty in New York Times Book Review, February 15, 1953.

Question Four: If higher education accepts the challenge of adult education, what changes will be called for in institutional attitudes and administrative organization?

The sense of limited responsibility is characteristic of higher education. We show little real concern for our relation to elementary and secondary education. Our college teachers of English, for example, content themselves with observing, from a position compounded of melancholy and a sense of superiority, that entering college freshmen know no grammar, nor the correct construction of a simple sentence, and so this has all to be done again. But to meet with high school teachers to discuss methods, content, purposes - for this they have no time and make no occasion. If this is our attitude towards the training of students who are to come to us, it is not surprising that we have less concern about the continuing education of those who leave us girded for life with our degrees, and still less for those adults who have never elected, or been able, to come to us at all. Thus, if we are to assume a role in adult education, the first change in attitude called for is that we must discover a sense of relatedness, a sense of responsibility.

If we believe adult education is one of the primary, integral responsibilities of higher education, perhaps not more important but not less important than other forms of higher education, then surely we must organize our institution to administer the program effectively. Our Evening College, University College, Extension Division - whatever we call the agency through which our adult education program will be administered - must be given rank and autonomous status equal to that of other schools. It must not be an administrative inadvertence or afterthought. It must be a school in its own right, not a pale replica of another school. It must not, like Lazarus, stand waiting to catch the crumbs that fall from the degree tables. We must not expect the director of the evening college to organize a special program of studies for adults with such energies and time as he may have left over from making curtseys to daytime deans and department heads and promising them that the hallowed standards of Government 61 will not be debased if offered in the evening college. Much of such a person's time must now be spent in the usually futile attempt to prove to the daytime custodians of our cultural tradition, a tradition whose quality is certified by three points of credit on the 100 level, that this course in Government 61 will in fact be given in precisely the same way, with the same standards, as in the daytime. This daytime keeper of the treasure hoard doubts it, but there are those scores of evening students – why don't they come in the daytime! – and that young instructor Mr. Jones is, the treasure-keeper believes, about to have another baby in his family, and so he agrees, fearing the worst.

And, in truth, this is about the worst. For the Director of the evening college ought to be in a position to say, if he chose, "I doubt whether Government 61 as presently taught to undergraduates is suitable for our more mature evening students. And certainly Mr. Jones is not acceptable. He no doubt means well, but he needs several more years of seasoning and teaching experience before he can command the attention and the respect of our adult students." But the climate of evening college work is not such as to make this conversation probable. The evening college head, it appears, is seldom a dean at the head of what is agreed to be a school in its own right. Bearing some even more ambiguous title, he is likely to be trapped by many day-college frames of reference including a conscientious concern for what ought to be prescribed in order to enable adolescents to grow up. Actually he knows that in adulthood a person is not so much concerned with his growth problem as with the functions he is called upon to fulfill. Such a view provides a whole new basis for thinking about the kind of education adult students need.

The evening college director knows, too, that whereas daytime full-time degree seekers are notoriously tolerant, the evening student – especially the non-degree-seeking adult student – insists, after his day's work in the office or factory, that his evening study shall be continuously meaningful, or else the irrelevance and emptiness of his registration becomes too oppressive to endure. The truth is that only the best teachers, the most mature and truly sophisticated, will be adequate for adult students.

One suspects that not all teachers are eager to be put to this test – the test of continuous successful communication to adult, critical students who have achieved some status in life, some degree of vocational or professional security, and are not likely to be impressed by a facade of esoterica, however imposing. Or if impressed, they are not likely to return next week to be impressed again. Rather than think through how such a group should be taught, with what texts, methods, and purposes – all very difficult considerations – some teachers find it easier to decide that adult education teaching calls for "popularization" and for the abandonment of standards.

Popularization of the truths or significance of our cultural heritage is indeed required in adult education, but this need not mean debasement. A fresh statement on this issue is contained in

Mr. Guy Hunter's *Residential Colleges - Some New Developments in British Adult Education*, recently published and distributed by the Fund for Adult Education. There is in this booklet a corrective to the lofty parochialism of the scholar who would pass by on the other side of adult education. Mr. Hunter observes that medieval society was well aware that the ploughman might know more truth than the learned clerk - in contrast to the emphasis which in modern times is placed rather on the name and the reference than on the truth itself:

> "Truth is understood and becomes our own when we recognize it as the expression of our own experience. To this central chamber of truth, many different doors lead in through many outer courts of experience - through family life as well as through science, through the struggles of the poor reformer as well as through the history of empires. It is too often the illusion of the intellectual that he possesses in his knowledge of great sayings and their authors, a short cut to the centre and a private key by which he can lead conducted tours of students straight to the heart of things . . . ."

Are educational institutions today organized in such a way as to give sanction to the kind of teaching that brings truth to the students through their own experience? If so, can it be restricted to daytime degree seekers only? It is in this sense that adult education does indeed mean popularization. But this is surely just another way of stressing the primary importance in adult education of the *successful communication* of data, where data are controlling; of skills and technical competence, where these are the immediate need; and of our perceptions and intuitions of truth, where these have given us whatever illumination and sensibility we possess.

These may well be the same considerations which are important in teaching on any level. To stress their over-riding importance for adult education is only to suggest the sense of urgency which many people feel about the issues of adult education. In a more leisurely time we could more easily indulge in the luxury of the leadership principle. In today's world, we desperately need the educated, the enlightened follower, for his responsibilities are hardly less onerous than those of the leader.

The key word of our time is *participation*. Management, belatedly, is discovering this to be true, and elaborate studies now demonstrate the awareness in industry of a principle which each of us must surely always have known about himself - namely, that to be fully creative or productive, one must feel *involved*, one must significantly *participate* in those decisions which importantly affect his life and his work. It is as true with respect to the continuity of our cultural tradition as it is in the context of management and labor. It is not enough, in an open society, that a precious few shall watch over our cultural treasure hoard and claim exemption from relationships to the issues of daily life so that they may have the exquisite pleasure of turning over and over its golden tokens in their hands. The generality of man must participate to some extent, to the measure of his capacity, in the enjoyment and use of this treasure, so that he will know what is gold and what is dross. In keeping the world free, we can count only on those who have some knowledge and meaningful experience of freedom in their daily lives. Similarly, for the task and the responsibility of transmitting the values of our culture to future generations, we can count as helpers only on those who have to some extent shared in the perception and enjoyment of those values. The values of the humane culture we cherish must run like bright threads giving pattern to the fabric of the daily life of the ordinary man. With different textures and variation in the richness of the design, it must be the same fabric that covers us all.

It has seemed worthwhile to review the basic questions of whether adult education is, in truth, the proper concern of higher education at all – or, perhaps, its inescapable responsibility; what the unique contribution of higher education to adult education might be; and what changes are needed in administrative organization and attitude if higher education is to deserve and maintain the role of leadership. On all of these questions it is probably fair to say that there are many institutions which still remain in doubt, or have many reservations, enough to doom the director of the evening college to frustration. This is not strange when one considers that most of us in higher education are but worthy or unworthy offspring of the tradition of the graduate schools and the learned societies – and those in adult education are sheep who have strayed afar. For the graduate schools and the learned societies' meetings and journals speak not of adult education. Do we need a core of full-time teachers in adult education and in the evening college? Where are the brilliant young Ph. D.'s in English, History, Economics, and the sciences who wish to dedicate their professional careers to the purposes of adult education? Truly they would be, in Menninger's phrase, men against themselves.

While we are looking for these men, or for such of their elders as can afford the risk, and while we are trying to decide whether we dare be creative in our educational planning at the hazard of being thought not academically respectable, the world goes on in a dismaying unconcern for the dualism we have established between "vocational" and "cultural." One might have supposed that the myth of the "economic man" had been pretty much exploded. In the discussion of the transmission of cultural values, it may have appeared that the liberal arts must be our only concern. But the issues of daily life involve problems of technical knowledge as well as problems of value. And our colleges already address themselves to many areas of human concern seemingly remote from issues of truth or justice. Thus our work with adult education often begins with the expressed need of the individual. Let us not be dismayed if this is what the purist would call "training" rather than education. Our concern must be to increase the student's adequacy, his sense of security within the area of his need, and to give him tools and methods of problem solving. If we are good teachers, we will give him instruction in technology in such a way that as his technical understanding and competence are increased, he becomes also more of a man. The zest for learning and inquiry possesses him; the yeast of growth is in him and no one can say where the process will end. The methodical inquiry into profit-sharing and incentive systems can lead to a searching study of the reasons why men work. The limited purpose of the student who seeks to learn quickly the techniques of radio writing can be transmuted into a desire to move the minds of man to good.

There is only one man, a being made in one piece, a being of infinite worth. But whether he parks his car at the suburban station or puts his lunch box in the locker room when he goes to work, he carries with him all day, every day, whatever perceptions and values he may have wrung from his inevitably limited education, and these he uses to interpret his daily experience. If we add together all these perceptions and values, the total represents the dominant and on-going culture of our time. Higher education exists within and must affect this on-going culture; it cannot, except at its peril, stand in isolation.

New characteristics of our culture are presenting new challenges. It is trite to speak of the ever growing number of adults in our population and of the ever lengthening span of leisure time which must surely be available to mankind, for ill or good, as the length of the working day comes down to the four-hour day that may be no more than ten to twenty years ahead. It is a pity that this concept of the new leisure has already become a bromide because I doubt that we have thought it through. Nor do we realize, perhaps, how imminent is our problem. We face consequences of technological change that may make the effects of the Industrial Revolution look like a ripple on the tide of history.

When one contemplates the fantastic implications of the push-button factory, store, and office, it is necessary, and necessary now, to ask how society will mitigate or adjust to the implications of these changes and their ominous impersonalization. What happens in this increasing leisure time will affect the continuity of our culture patterns. We are accustomed to speak of the "basic moral and spiritual values of our free democratic society" as constituting our "cultural heritage." But the stagehands are changing the scenery behind us as we talk.

Where in the old society physical work was time consuming, the society just ahead will be one of leisure. Veblen's "leisure classes" will become the "leisure masses." Adult education stands in unique relationship to these masses. In an increasingly impersonal industrial and business society, people will surely feel the need to be more personal in their leisure. If we accept our responsibility to make these people function better as individuals, we could be the beneficiaries of the technological revolution. The colleges, more than any other agencies, should formulate and articulate new paths which these people can follow in the new society. For it *is* new. For thousands of years, *work* has been the order of life, counterpoised against *leisure*. Ours is a time when the two must be woven together to the end that our democratic society may not be changed into a bleak "1984" future.

Adult education is truly the new frontier of education. What prevents us from fully accepting this fact is perhaps the same phenomenon to which our own teachers solemnly call attention in our classes in psychology and in management: the resistance to change. The responsibilities of higher education are no longer neatly confined to the daytime hours and to highly selected groups of seekers after degrees. Other groups are adapting themselves to change. Many retail merchants, for example, are recognizing the growing importance of evening shopping. They could complain that people *should* shop in the daytime, that their stores and most experienced clerks are available only then. But instead they appear to be undertaking the difficult task of providing adequate facilities and qualified personnel to serve their evening clients.

This is vulgar comparison, one may say, and besides, these stores are motivated by considerations of competition and profit. But these words cannot give us comfort in our withdrawal. "Vulgar" means "the common people, a throng or crowd" – and it is of them we have been speaking. As for "competition," surely we must face this too. Are we not willing to compete? Who and what will possess the loyalties and the minds of men if we in higher education pass by on the other side? And what will be the profit to us in higher education if the society which ultimately sustains us feels less and less relationship to us? What will it profit us if in our preoccupation with "leadership" we discover that there are few, too few, who follow?

Our role in adult education, in consideration of the vast numbers to be reached and the limited resources in teachers and facilities available to higher education, may seem almost like that of a bit player in a large cast on a big stage. But if this is true, it is also true, surely, that we have very important lines to read, lines which carry some of the most important meanings of the play. We must first of all desire sincerely to take part in the drama; then show that we deserve a place in the cast; and then, having learned our entrances, we must read our lines so that they will move the minds and hearts of people throughout the large theatre, not forgetting those in the balcony seats. For among them are often those who most love the theatre, and it is for them that our greatest plays have been written.

DEAN GEORGE SPELVIN ON "GROUPMANSHIP"
OR
LET'S KEEP SOME EDUCATION IN ADULT EDUCATION

Much of the current thinking and writing by professional adult educators is likely to make some workers in the field feel like the school boy who said to the teacher, "I must have been absent the day the class took up grammar." The newest publications in the field appear not to be concerned with education, but rather with problems of community leadership. The person engaged in preparing a program of study opportunities for adult students may well feel he will find more helpful material in the morning newspaper than in his "professional journals."

One recent article in such a journal, for example, deals with certain sensitive and serious-minded individuals who believe their town ought to have its own hospital. The problem is how to create acceptance of this as a community goal. This leads directly to a consideration of The Group: how it is formed and operated; how group leadership is developed; what is good and what is bad leadership. Agreed: these are important questions, and as one reads the case study, he becomes truly involved. He hopes these generours and dedicated young people will learn the principles of effective leadership. The reader would like to send them a letter of encouragement or a modest check for the hospital fund. He has no doubt whatever that theirs is a good cause, that somehow in this country we must rediscover the dynamics of community living. Our lives today, he agrees, are too compartmentalized, too isolated from one's neighbors, too barren of challenges to work with others towards the common good, especially in the large city, where one does not know the other dwellers in his own apartment building. Nor does he know the "community" of which he is somehow supposed to be a part. Where and what is it? he asks: The entire city of New York? (Or Boston? Or Pittsburgh?) Or perhaps only Yorkville or Greenwich Village in New York? Even so, he asks, how does one identify himself with it?

And so the problem runs. The director of the extension division or of the evening college - whom from this point on we shall call Dean George Spelvin - and the freshest product of the teachers college are in complete agreement: The problem of the community and community leadership is serious, challenging, and one worth working on if our democracy is to continue to be the expression of responsible individuals, sharing problems together in effective, serious-minded community groups.

But here Dean Spelvin asks himself in a spirit of friendly but genuine puzzlement: Should we call this "adult education"? Isn't there some better, more accurate title - like, perhaps, "Community Dynamics"? That would be good, wouldn't it? For one thing, it has the word "Dynamics," which is a good word these days, and it is the community that is the preoccupation of the new movement. But no, he muses, this title leaves out the all-important concept of "the leader." How about using, then, a title such as "Leadership Training for Community Dynamics"? "LTCD" comes easily and catchily off the tongue, and an organization dedicated to the purpose clearly implicit in this title would be one sufficiently challenging to any educator, or even to the layman who was concerned to preserve the vitality of community life as a cornerstone of a free society.

If the group-leadership folks would operate under some such title, Dean Spelvin muses, somewhat wistfully, then perhaps we (here the Dean, no doubt, speaks - without portfolio - for his colleagues in the Association of University Evening Colleges) could borrow back the title 'adult education' and use it once again to mean what it always used to mean: the continuing education of adults. To be sure, he continues, everyone uses the word 'education' in a broad sense to include all the fruitful experiences of one's life. But it has always had a fairly specific meaning, too. By general agreement, it has been used specifically to refer to all those classes, courses, books, schools, teachers, curricula, through which, or by means of which, one learned to speak French, or measure the square feet in a room; learned what Gestalt psychology is, or a sonnet; what Plato said about Truth; what are the principles of atomic fission; who or what was Beowolf; what is a dangling participle; and what is counterpoint. These are some of the things people have always wanted to learn, in my experience, the Dean reflects, and we always thought of this as the province of adult education - or, better, as 'continuing education.' But today it would appear that 'adult education' doesn't mean any longer the continuing education of adults, but rather, training for leadership in the community. Now, this is very confusing. Why don't those people find some other term for this very fine thing they are doing and give us back the term 'adult education'?

No, Dean Spelvin insists to himself, instinctively ducking his head in anticipation of the first brickbat, I am not an old fussbudget, worrying about names and symbols instead of important matters. I'm a hard working, practical-minded fellow! And I know that the work which those group leadership folks have in mind, like building that hospital, is good for the community. And so, since there clearly are things to learn about how to get a project off the ground, let's welcome this body of lore and techniques – under *any* name – to its place among the things which adults may and sometimes need to learn. But that's different from saying that learning these techniques is the main job of *adult education* – is, so to speak, adult education itself! Actually, the main task of adult *education* in the context of this hospital problem is to inform and alert adults to the theory of democracy and its manifold implications. Community projects, like this hospital, are concrete applications that may follow from the intellectual exploration of the meaning of democracy. Let's please make this primary distinction between education and application, so that we'll agree about what we're doing, and can understand each other better.

What's more, Dean Spelvin continues, getting a bit worked up about it, the Group Leadership people never seem to talk about teachers! Now, we have always thought that a good *teacher* had an important place in education, whether for adults or non-adults. True, this is not a permanent designation. In adult education, the teacher must also be a learner; and the learner frequently functions as teacher. But "teacher" is still a good word! Of course, he must not smother his class with pedantic obfuscations, nor be stupid enough to suppose there is any education where there is no exchange or participation. It is true that there are many, far too many, who do not know this and who are therefore falsely labeled teachers. And this must make us all the more careful to find the person who can be at once a good teacher and a group leader. But a good *teacher* he must be! insists the Dean, somewhat desperately. The people who come to my school are not looking for a group leader. They want a teacher!

Of course, even as he protests, he is a bit uneasy. He remembers Rip Van Winkle and wonders whether he isn't somehow in the same dilemma. *Was* he absent the day the class took up grammar? Surely it couldn't have happened just during those two months when he was in Europe and failed to read the adult education journals. What made the whole movement change its purpose? he asks himself worriedly.

Now let me concentrate for a few minutes, he muses. Just when was it that we began to hear all this talk about The Group and Group Leadership? Wasn't it derivative from progressive education, perhaps, and from the entirely sensible notion that education should have its consequence in action? But how did this concept of "action" and the social consequences of education come to be so restricted – restricted, virtually, so far as one can gather from reading the "journals," to *group* action? Isn't it action, isn't it a social consequence, if as a result of education, I, as an individual, should learn to enjoy the ballet? Or a Bach fugue? Or understand, in some measure, the cultures of primitive societies?

True, there are causes best served through group action. Getting that hospital built would be one. Getting a larger budget for the city's schools would be another. Who would be so myopic as to question the strength and dynamism of The Group, or its unique role in social action? Or the validity, therefore, of analyzing interpersonal relationships within The Group, and the role of the Group Leader? Group therapy, the psycho-drama - perhaps the curtain is only beginning to lift on our understanding of group dynamics.

But everyone knows this, reflects Dean Spelvin. The puzzle is - what caused all this feverish preoccupation and intellectualizing about The Group? Do you suppose, he wonders, that the anti-intellectualism of the post-war years has had something to do with it? We have had some serious social problems for a good many years now. But it's a dauntless individual who dares to take an unpopular position, all by himself. If a Senator Malarkey or the Middle English War Veterans don't like it, they will write the Mayor, or the Chancellor, or the sponsor. But in a Group, you can lose your identity (Yes! That's the trouble! Spelvin mutters). Nobody can get at you quite so easily.

Let's not forget, he reflects, that some commendable things were done before all this shooting began. Some hospitals have been built before and not all of them by wealthy benefactors. Maybe some of them came about because some individual, who didn't realize how little he knew about group leadership, just rolled up his sleeves, went to work and rallied the community to his support. Maybe he could have done the job better if he had known more about group techniques. But perhaps he didn't have time to think of much except that hospital. His improvised but successful efforts were not sicklied o'er with the pale cast of techniques. These group leadership folks, Dean Spelvin muses, have whacked up a whole apparatus of soul searching about techniques, as if techniques were the end, not just a means. What with having to stop and think about individual goals versus group goals and agendas, tasks, steps, and sub-groups, he protests, aren't we forgetting the primary role which education must play before any group can achieve full effectiveness? Let's go back to the basic premise from which, surely, we all began: A democratic society demands participation by individuals. This requires enlightenment on the part of each member of society - or at least of a majority. This is education for social action. Without such education, and with each person chiefly or only concerned to fill his role as a player on a team under leadership, there is little room for individual action, or for the great and frequently beneficent force of heresy.

Well, however much you grumble, Dean Spelvin says to himself, there they are, these group leadership people, in the vanguard of what they say is the 'adult education' movement. No one feels comfortable when he suddenly discovers he is marching stolidly down a street alone and that all his old friends have evidently turned the corner back there and gone to the left - (to the right! the Dean corrects himself nervously). 'Get on the bandwagon!' is still a stirring appeal. I'll look better up there with all the leaders, and the leaders of leaders, than all alone by myself, standing on the curb while the richly bedecked floats of the Group Leadership Dynamists go by.

It isn't as if I were against these people, Dean Spelvin continues in some irritation. I genuinely believe in the importance of what they are doing, and if I have any time left over from adult education - or whatever you call it that I'm doing - I would like to help. It's just that I wish they wouldn't say that they are doing what I am doing! I don't say I am doing what they are doing! Can't we gather under some different banners when we come together in the Great Hall of Education? We won't fight; we'll fraternize and share! But let's get out of this "Tower of Babel"!

* * * * *

Thus far Dean Spelvin's musings would have no special significance if they reflected only his individual confusion and bafflement. But it is possible that he speaks for others - for administrators and teachers in public evening high schools, in community adult schools, in evening colleges and university extension divisions - persons of good will and good intention, who long ago and from sincere conviction joined the caravan of adult education, but are now puzzled about where it is going.

Could there not be a renewed acceptance of the idea that by "adult education" we shall mean the education of adults - a process in which many institutions and agencies can co-operate? By "education" in this context, can we not agree to mean all those processes by which a man acquires information, understanding, and the basis for critical judgment about some subject matter? Let us not be restrictive about "subject matter." Let us, if you wish, admit "How to Organize the Community" as a subject which can be taught and studied and practiced and mastered, along with "Impressionist Painting," "The Great Books," "Mastering Good English" and "Time and Motion Study." Whatever it is that is to be included under the rubric of adult education, let us not confuse learning and understanding with their applications, or with preparations for application. We need not quarrel about a precise definition of education, nor need we comment invidiously upon the relative importance of The Group, or of techniques in communication, where problems and principles needing study are not less important because they are tangential to adult education. The basic issue is: What should be the character of the show going on in the main tent?

There must be many who feel that the main tent of adult education should be dedicated to education. Moreover, that it should be dedicated to the education of individuals, thousands of them, hundreds of thousands, but still individuals, learning the content of some useful segment of our accumulated store of knowledge, gaining historical perspective with respect to what is known of that subject; finding out at first hand what Aristotle or Matthew Arnold wrote, and relating it to the world they now live in; arriving, by painful but rewarding study, at a greater capacity to form individual judgments; becoming, by this process, individuals capable of making One in The Group, not a zero.

The Constitution of the United States, President Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, and, in one way or another, all Americans pay tribute to the importance of the individual in our society. Let us then not forget him in a preoccupation with The Group. The Group is a show for one of the smaller tents of adult education, where a teacher, for example, can learn from technicians in what respects his class of individuals is also a Group, with its own potential and dynamics as a Group. Such a smaller-tent clinic will also correct the occasional arrogance of the teacher of adults, and help him to see his true function as a trained discussion leader, as an expert with respect to some body of subject matter and the members of his class or group. This is all necessary and important as an adjunct of adult education. But it is not the show in the main tent.

In the main tent there are groups of individuals trying to learn and understand some content material worth learning and understanding, something that will make their individual lives richer and more meaningful. Very few, indeed, of these individuals are unaware that they live with others, or that they have a role to play in community life. Our sudden preoccupation with The Group is arbitrary. For The Group was always there, and no man, indeed, is an island. He is a member of a family, a church, a school or schools, a circle of friends, a club, a town, community or urban neighborhood, a professional association or trade union, a bridge club, choir or bowling team – and a thousand etceteras; the single human person represents a wide network of group relationships. An attempt to invite attention to the overriding importance of the individual need not proceed from any romantic concept of him as a whole identity apart from any group, nor from an anxiety lest The Group, like Nature, shall be "so careful of the type, so careless of the single life." The human person is indeed real, and a being of "infinite worth," but it is clear that part of his reality lies in the series of group relationships into which he enters – either passively and without conscious choice, or actively and intelligently.

To motivate and equip him for active and intelligent participation is surely one of the main tasks of adult education.

The failure so to participate often arises not from a failure of good will but from a lack of something to contribute. For the intelligent individual knows that his purely physical identification with The Group is not enough. When all possible allowances are made for the frequent and virtually miraculous contributions which apparently spring from naive intuition, it still remains probable that twenty zeros will add up to zero. But through training and study can come a disciplined understanding, sober and solid criteria for judgment, and a method of problem solving. So trained, the individual can take his place as One in his community group. This is the true beginning of the democratic equation. The fact of being one member of a group is not in itself necessarily an educational experience. Education is an active process on the part of the individual and is not contagious except through example. One does not get educated in the same way one gets Asiatic cholera.

Should we not therefore assert again our confidence that the province of adult education is the training and education of the individual? Let no one worry: We shall not forget that he is also and necessarily a member of his community; we shall not forget, indeed, that he is a member of a group even as he studies with us. But while we remember this, we will not take our eyes away from him as an individual, nor from the basic concept of a democracy discovering its strength and validity through the participation of responsible individuals. As a primary concern, let us leave the Group, as such (or "Groupmanship," as it may come to be known), to the specialists. It would deny our historic mission if here in America we forget the importance of the individual in our preoccupation with The Group. For this is the "Workshop of Liberty," to use Madison's happy phrase, and "only an open society, like the American, can provide the conditions for the fullest realization of every individual's capacities. . . . Our history has been and still is the outcome of our own individual efforts. . . ."[1]

In the end, for the adult educator there is only the individual, the individual who seeks education. Let us give him our full attention. If we receive him with sincerity and friendship, if we secure good teachers for him, he may so develop his abilities that he can serve, with dignity and competence, as a leader of a group. But he can have only temporary status as Leader. As a shift in subject-matter makes the teacher the learner, so, as need arises, the follower becomes leader; the leader, follower. And this is indeed the genius of adult education: it is not the kind of education that is

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1. Adrienne Koch, "The Idea of America," Yale Review, XLI, No. 2.

good for someone else. Each of us, as individuals, needs it - desperately. Under the broad banner of adult education, we function variously as teacher or student, as leader or follower. And, above all, as individuals.

Let us therefore offer opportunities for the development of the individual, so that he may vindicate, in some measure, and by his own example, the idea of the importance of the human person in an open society. This is one of the conceptual cornerstones of the idea of America. To breathe new life and vitality into it is the great challenge to those who work in adult education.

NOTES

and

ESSAYS on education for adults

THE LIBERATION
OF THE ADULT

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NUMBER 7

March 1954

center for the study of liberal education for adults
940 east fifty-eighth street · chicago 37, illinois

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the association of university evening colleges.

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The Liberation of the Adult

By

Horace Kallen

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THE NEW SCHOOL FOR SOCIAL RESEARCH

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
1954

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

LC
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PREFACE

Professor Kallen presented this paper in May 1953 to a group of Humanities faculty people who teach in university evening colleges. These people were assembled in a two-day residential seminar held in Chicago, under the sponsorship of The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

The Center is happy to publish Professor Kallen's paper as part of the on-going discussion of the purposes and problems of university-level adult education. This discussion is now being extended by means of Center-sponsored faculty seminars in various parts of the country. These seminars are expected to yield additional publications as the university evening college takes a leading role in helping the adult education movement in the United States to appraise its activities and to define its goals.

John B. Schwertman, Director

The Center for the Study of
Liberal Education for Adults

Chicago, Illinois
March, 1954

THE LIBERATION OF THE ADULT

In trying to gather into some kind of order the reflections I would like to lay before you I found myself in a considerable predicament. I had gotten the feeling that what is wanted is a solution to problems and I am afraid I cannot satisfy that kind of want.

My theme is "The Liberation of the Adult." I think of it as the statement of a problem, and perhaps of some comments on solutions. I have been engaged in teaching two of the "humanities" more than half a century; for more than three-fifths of this period I have been teaching adults. Neither observation nor experience has led me to any final conclusions—unless it be a conclusion that there are no conclusions, that every apparent solution to the problems of teaching or learning anything becomes a seedbed of other such problems, often more vexatious. From the time of Socrates and Aristophanes (whose "Clouds," you remember, expresses the first challenge by, and the first counter to, the reform of education), one man's solution has turned out consistently to be another man's problem. Philosophies of education can be neither nostrums nor cure-alls; they can be at best articulations of beliefs, of aspirations, and of experiment. First and last, philosophies of education express a faith on which the believer is ready to bet, if not his own future, other peoples' future.

The decision of any believer that he need no longer inquire, nor any longer take the more or less calculated risk of acting, of working out consequences, transposes what is for him the problematical into the relatively certain. And such a decision may often be held to in spite of consequences. When a believer thus holds to it, his attitude is at one with that which is expressed by the verse: "Though he slay me, will I trust in him." It shuts out alternatives. In education, such a closure makes teaching the chief obstacle to learning. It erects a barrier against change and if learning is not change, it is nothing at all. Teaching adults is changing adults, or it is vox praeterea nihil.

Whereupon, the question arises, changing from what to what?

Answering this question calls forth appraisals, images, or articulated conceptions of what the word "adult" denotes, of what is an "adult," and then of what the changer desires to change this "adult" into. Other questions follow: How is the change to be accomplished? By working the adult over with doctrine and discipline? By doing things to him which the doer insists are for him, whatever be his own views? Or by working with him, with his advice and consent, so that he may open himself up, animate his curiosities and release his powers to satisfy and enhance them, by himself and for himself? And what media, what methods, had the changer best propose and use in order to attain the changes he desires? All of us are aware of the ancient feud between the aficionados of certain traditional answers to these typical questions. The answers are the creeds of educational faiths perennially at war, and fighting one battle of the books after another. Indeed, much of the history of educational theory seems largely the history of a Hobbesian war of all against all.

Now my own educational faith follows from my personal commitment to what Theodore Parker was first to call "the American Idea"—the Idea that is expressed in public utterances beginning with the Declaration of Independence and repeated anew in the verses of poets like Walt Whitman and James Russell Lowell and John Greenleaf Whittier and Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and William Vaughn Moody and Carl Sandburg and several other of our contemporaries. Among the Idea's noblest expressions are political statements such as Jefferson's Inaugurals and other writings; Lincoln's "Gettysburg Address," his inaugurals, his "Emancipation Proclamation," Franklin Roosevelt's statement on the four freedoms. Many others might be cited. "The American Idea" is the creative matrix of a growing Bible, whose books the generations sift out from a multitude of expressions, each repeating in a new form the prime intention of the Declaration of Independence.

If we take the American Idea as the substance of the things we

Americans hope for, as evidence of the things we do not see; if we take the fundamental statements of the Declaration of Independence as the beatitudes intending to give shape and direction to the American way of life, we can hardly fail to appraise the latter as bearing a relation to the former quite like that of the ways and works of Christians to the beatitudes of the Gospel; that is, being more honored in the breach than in the observance. However, given the intention of the American Idea, and believing, as I, myself, continue to believe, that this intention is a directive which the people of America labor as best they can to realize in their private lives and the nation's history, to incarnate both in democratic institutions at home and through democratic co-operation with foreign powers, our questions come together in the single query: "What does experience of teaching grown-ups, and of the behavior of grown-ups, signify in the context of the American Idea?"

For answer we must first look at the grown-up as he comes to us. I recognize that discourses on the education of the adult are swamps of sentimental dialectic. I puzzle over many purportedly scientific definitions of "adult." But, for practical purposes, anyone is "adult" who is admitted to an adult school, no matter how old he is, how rich or how poor, how ignorant or how abundantly instructed. However, the fact that a living person gets called "adult" under conditions of admission to an adult school, leaves the theorists unsatisfied. We are not content merely to confront him as a person or as a face with a name in a seat in a classroom. The "adult" has more substance than accrues to him in these ways. Willynilly you look at him, and you ask yourself other questions about him. The first among the generally reliable answers is, that he is a person who works for his living; that insofar as he lives any life by day, he lives it in earning his living. He consumes his day, every day, in the practice of a skill, in the rehearsal of certain routine informations and techniques, repeating them—perhaps every hour of the day and every fifteen minutes of the hour—in such unceasing iterations of knowledge and knowhow that it has become semi-conscious or even unconscious, like the instinctual knowledge of Bergson's ants, wasps, and bees. Our adult is a creature of routine which his day life automatizes into a series of more and more rigid and repetitive adjustments to the conditions of his earning his living. These adjustments include, of course, adjustments to his fellow workers and his higher-ups. Whether he is of the white-collar salariat whom Mills deplores and decries in his study of the "type," or whether he is a blue shirted wage-earner, these relationships affect what goes into his pay-envelope. For his own job depends on the co-ordinated labor of his fellows, and the co-ordinations are subject to the authority of the managerial hierarchy which has the say over his job. . True, that authority, if our adult is a member of a trade union, is offset by the authority of his union's business agent and its own hierarchy. Academic structures are, of course, no exception; your own experience can render what I'm trying to denote specific and exact.

A psychologist, observing our adult in the setting where he earns his living, can account for him behavioristically. His conduct appears as a recurrent sequence of conformations and adaptations which repeat in the same way as an animal's behavior repeats in a psychologist's maze. Whatever sensibility, whatever discrimination or judgment our adult evinces in this setting of his day life, is a function of his occupation. He is moved by what Thorstein Veblen called, perhaps miscalled, the "instinct of workmanship," and he exercises powers of appreciation and judgment, he develops an expertise, which can make a detailed appraisal of how well or ill any of his peers has done his job. But mostly such discriminations, such appreciations, bear no functional relation either to the perfection of his own skills as a worker or to his awareness of the relationships of the thing he is doing to the total context of his work. If a man makes a pair of shoes, he makes them anonymously, as a "number" in the shoe factory. He has no apt ideas where his materials come from, or where or how his tools are made, or how they are powered; nor has he any realization of the consumer who will wear the shoes. The shoes are for him an abstraction he produces which is the necessary antecedent to another abstraction called the paycheck.

The conversion of the paycheck into the concrete realities of living does not happen on the job. That happens at leisure, not at labor. For the adult's day life, necessarily taken up by his earning his bread, is predominantly a means to an end, which is his night life. By night he spends what he earns by day. By night he lives his life. And in living his life, he will either try to escape from the creature of habit that his day life requires him to be, or he will try to confirm the day's routines and attitudes and habits by the kind of recreation and edification that he pursues by night. It does not matter whether he has been to college or holds a doctor's degree or has barely completed the fourth grade of a public school. Whatever his schooling, his personal stance will have these traits. It will be an automatism and its circumstances will have caused what we call his mind—that is, his ways of thought, his beliefs and his judgment—to be also habit-bound. However, automatisms or habits of the mind we do not call habits. We call them either principles or prejudices, and those two words designate what is all too often a distinction without a difference.

In his principles and prejudices our adult has made articulated commitments, perhaps brought to consciousness by the impact of diversifications and differences which challenged his creeds with alternatives. But by and large, our adult will tend to evade challenge. He will tend to duck the sportsmanlike confrontation of difference such as men of science are presumed to court. His mind being largely a systematized organization of prejudices engaged in keeping up its own status quo ante, it will tend to be, on the whole and in the long run, impenetrable to the experience of any alternative. In sum, our adult will be busy about his "self-preservation," unconscious and conscious. Our pundits have greatly diversified the naming of this ancient and well-established endeavor, common to all sorts and conditions of men, and of the single urge which diversifies into the day life and night life of our industrial culture. If day life produces "bread," night life consumes "circuses." Day life and night life together give modern man the panem et circenses that his ancient forbears demanded no less.

But the ancients had no choice in either bread or circuses. Not so we moderns. We make our own circuses by our selections from the diversity of motion pictures, newspapers, pulpwood and slick paper magazines, "comics," television productions and radio commentators (who have not only become the rivals but the supplanters of the clergy). And those we choose are those we believe will confirm our principles and justify our prejudices. To compensate for any felt imbalance, any stir of conscience, or for release from the pressures of prejudices and principles, we take recourse to the westerns, the whodunits, the erotica, and the science fiction; Superman and his ilk are by no means so absurd as egghead prejudice would have them or bonehead hungers require. Psychologists of any school can produce ample sanction for them. And let us not forget the athletic contests, the bowling alleys, the games of chance, and the dance-halls whereto our adult may have habitual recourse.

It is away from all those that so many of us purpose, by means of our "humanities" and "social sciences" to lead our adult. We assume to direct him to what are to us the arts and letters of the past and present, and in and through them to ready him for the true, the good, and the beautiful of the future. It is unto this last that adult education dedicates itself—at least in its claims. Adult teaching proposes to change the adult's status quo into something inwardly altering and expanding; to transmute a repetition and prolongation of "sames" into a process of differentiation, of development in diversity; into a moving out into new directions. Adult teaching proposes the liberation of the learner.

As you no doubt have found in your own experience, the adult will be seeking confirmation of his prejudices or principles because he feels insecure. Or his quest is for compensations in night life for the bondage of day life; or for escape from bondages, such as an unpleasant husband or wife, into the bondages of night life via what he would like to feel is fair exchange and not robbery. Yet, in those matters and media, which academics purport to despise, and for which they propose "liberal education" as an antidote, there lies an enormous unnoticed or disregarded liberating potency.

As long ago as 1907, William James addressed a class at Radcliffe College (and that was a very generous act on the part of a Harvard professor of those days). Mr. James's theme was "The

Social Value of the College Bred." He argued that the whole task of a college education was to enable the educatee to know a good man when he sees one. (Of course, that could have been interpreted by the Radcliffe girls in a special way, but William James warned them against such isolationist interpretation.) He did not mean by a "good man" an alumnus of any college. He meant a man good on any level; in the fields, in the factories, in the mines, and on the sea, as well as in schools and colleges or businesses and banks. With his characteristic optimism, he came to a conclusion I have picked out to quote. It's worth repeating to you as evidence of a trend toward a certain perspective in education, whether of adults or un-adults. "It would be a pity," James concluded, "if any future historian were to have to write words like these: By the middle of the twentieth century the higher institutions of learning had lost all influence over the public opinion in the United States. But the mission of raising the tone of democracy, which they had proved themselves so lamentably unfitted to exert, was assumed with a rare enthusiasm and prosecuted with extraordinary skill and success by a new educational power, and for the clarification of their human sympathies and elevation of their human preferences, the people at large acquired the habit of resorting exclusively to certain private literary adventures, commonly designated in the market by the affectionate name of the ten-cent magazine."

Of course we can't use that affectionate name anymore, and the ten-cent magazine which James had in mind at that time—McClure's and Colliers and the American Magazine were then muckraking and setting up moral standards which are now being set up for public servants and Congressmen under the leadership of an ex-professor of the University of Chicago, now a senator. I refer, of course, to Paul Douglas, who has come to figure as the Senate's most notable believer in the decencies of the democratic way and its strongest worker in the endeavor to re-establish and to enforce them in the public service. But it is as part of a developmental pattern which starts half a century ago that the movement for adult education—as this advances by means of more or less independent and autonomous adult schools of higher education—takes the responsibility of changing the adult into something that the agonists of the movement would like him to become.

Not altogether, and not consistently, is this change the same as that which the adult-at-school seeks for himself, even while he resists being changed from without, and assumes his studies in order to preserve himself from changes within. The varieties of persons who seek a surer safety by undertaking the risks of a "liberal" education have recently come under a variety of scrutinies by social scientists. From the latters' reports a certain image emerges, a composite picture shaped from the reciprocal suffusion of such constructions as C. Wright Mills' White Collar, Eli Ginzberg's Occupational Choice, David Riesman's The Lonely Crowd. It is the picture of a figure shut-in, anxious about its health and looks and loves and social standing, eager to keep up with its chosen Joneses, and even in its anxieties manacled to habits of head and heart, bound to routine in work, to convention in play, resenting its chains yet clinging to them for security, afraid to turn in new directions or step out on new ways, ill at ease and at a loss before any deviation from the usual whether at labor or in leisure, with the work by which it earns its living the fixed horizon of its life, its sole resource for confidence and reassurance. For this type, "work," as Irving Lorge's study of elderly needleworkers concludes, "is more than earning a living; it is a way of life."

We may take for granted that this generic image cancels out, from the adult questing after a liberal education, varieties and differences enough to make up a multiplicity of sub-types. But every single one of these individuals, whom this "scientific" typology de-individualizes, shares with all the others the critical trait, that he bets on education. This gamble of his indicates that—however much he thinks and acts so as to go on being what he is, and changes only because he must and not because he wishes—he is ill at ease with himself; that he would wish to change if changing were not such labor, such pain and pang, and didn't cost so much; if it could be carried on without crisis. He is afraid to step into the "different" as children are afraid to step into water. Yet all that he feels and says and does in manifesting what our psychomythologies are accustomed to call his "instinct of self-preservation"—all his ongoing struggle to keep now and here going on whatever it is that he identifies as himself the living person (even as the changes which his struggle not to change produces)—confronts in the modern world swift and cataclysmal alterations both of the economy and of the psychology of all human relations. Although his end be "self preservation" and some vision of unchanging safety and happiness be the definition of his end, both carry on only as changing; "interactions" with a changing world. The founding fathers were deeply aware of this. The "unalienable rights" for whose support they pledged their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; not happiness, please note, but the pursuit of happiness! The American Idea postulates the notion of pursuit, of mobility, of change; and as a condition antecedent to mobility, it presumes equal liberty.

Liberty and the pursuit of happiness are interdependent. They are terms of a transaction. Without the one the other could not be. It is a curious fact that Jefferson's friend George Mason tried to get the phrase "pursuit of happiness" written into the Constitution but failed. Instead the Preamble transposes the phrase's intent as "the general welfare" and "the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity," and designs the Constitution as a blueprint of the American way to these ends. But I believe that about two-thirds of the state constitutions did, at one time or another and in one way or another, postulate the pursuit of happiness. I believe that the phrase does signalize a national trend, a national intention; that it projects a gradient of faith which "the American Way" shall realize in works, giving substance to vision by action, enfleshing faith in fact.

Now we are all poignantly aware of the chasm between faith and fact; how divergent, how all too often antithetical are the American Idea, the national being, and the persons whose biographies both make and reflect this being. It is in consequence of this divergence and antithesis that the education of the adult must needs be the same as the liberation of the adult. At bottom, what he wants is something that does look to him as liberation. At bottom, it is for liberation that he turns to what we call liberal education.

But to any adult so turning, any study that liberates is liberal. Consequently the liberal arts may be in his experience exactly the foes of liberation and not the friends and forces of liberation. For to be liberated is to change, in the process of learning, from a habit-bound, prejudiced, inhibited, uneasy conformist following fixed rites according to fixed rotes of thinking and talking and hearing and doing, into a person whose powers of head and heart have been released and have become so confluent in habit, that whatever he remembers or thinks, or imagines or discovers or invents, serves him to face the unexpected contingencies in thoughts and things aptly, with the sportsmanlike insight and sympathetic understanding of the different which characterizes the sciences, and to face those contingencies with courage and without illusion. Any man is free who has so learned this freedom that it has become his habit of life, so that his personality is its expression, and his behavior its steady projection in the give-and-take of even the most banal and routinized events of his day.

This means that in the liberation of the adult, unlearning plays as important a role as learning. How to help a grown-up to unlearn is itself a prime problem in the education of the adult, once assuming that he is willing to unlearn. Of course unlearning can be compelled. You can employ the methods which red China calls "brainwashing" and which our behaviorists would call "reconditioning" and the like—or you can make use of the methods which seem to me very significant instances of effective adult education so far as it goes—the methods employed by Alcoholics Anonymous.

The tradition which purports to look back to the initiatives of Socrates and the other Greek Sophists makes much of the liberal arts as disciplines of freedom. I find it not a little ironic that their agonists have very rarely heeded how much those are methods of communication and crafts of manipulation, how very little they concern matter communicated or material manipulated. I am thinking, of course, of those sacred cows of educational traditionalism, the trivium and quadrivium. People quite vocal about these skills usually ignore that they were exalted into sancta and sacra of liberal education precisely because they were new techniques providing greater advantages than the old ones they rivalled and superseded. The grammar, logic, rhetoric, of the trivium are "general" disciplines, in fact, the more general, the more liberal and also the emptier—but they cannot be treated as variables independent of subject matter if they are to be relevant and living disciplines. Like trying to teach swimming on dry land, teaching grammar or rhetoric or logic as such is as empty, if not as sedative, as chewing gum, if abstracted from the vital issues on which these modes of organizing and communicating ideas can alone be nourishingly employed. You hear much talk about "scientism" and all the other terms used to degrade the scientific enterprise, much of which does, like every other affair of the mind, suffer degradation. But when you charge degradation in the light of a quadrivium which consists of geometry and arithmetic and astronomy and music, you are only charging degradation to what is in fact an enormous expansion and development of these simple and primitive arts into the great elaborate systems of the sciences of nature.

Actually, the quadrivium comprises techniques of relating and of measurement. It discourses of relations and measurements of sounds, of the movements of stars, of the surface and shapes of the earth, and the counting of anything and everything. Now when you detach these methods, these techniques, from whatever they apply to, you turn them into abstract skills; they say how, not what. Isolating makes them into independent subjects; renders them autonomous forms of expertise; transposes them into the vocations of the specialists in the general, as definitely capable of shackling the spirit of man as anything that is condemned in their name. Experience being what it is, the skills change and must change just as the matter they work on changes, and they change even when the content, the what which education is presumed to communicate, does not change. Actually, the trivium and quadrivium become workable only as their units are employed and transformed through the sciences of nature and of man, and the fine and industrial arts. Mechanical "brains," exemplifying cybernetic rules, are their high point of expression. As for today's fine arts, they are entirely dominated by the quadrivium. You need but visit museums of modern art, experience non-objective paintings or carvings or listen to modern music to become sure that beyond the matters of the trivium and quadrivium they body forth the thinnest of sense, that they evade or flee the solid daily actualities of experience. So also with the techniques of verbal communication which compose the trivium. Whatever value accrues to them comes from how they facilitate the movement of ideas, how well they enable people to exchange ideas clearly, distinctly, persuasively. But abstract grammar and logic and rhetoric from ideas and meanings, and what meaning do you leave them with?

Now in neither the humanities nor the social sciences can the how be alive except in and through its what. In both modes of discourse a certain stasis and corruption follows from segregating them for study and in isolating their themes. Nothing in the record shows either to be, in and of itself alone, a liberator of the mind. Isolation, specialization, and repetition may bring a certain deepening but they also bring an inevitable narrowing of an intellectual enterprise. They convert what starts as free inquiry into bands of habit, each serving only to shackle the mind, to carry it from an open road behind a wall of exclusion and separation. It is from isolation that the vice of pedantry is born; and as you know, parent and offspring alike manifest the bondsman's condition and are fundamentally the foes of culture. This is why the "table d'hote" curriculum, the set course following an assumed logical or other order, turns out so often to be but a run-around.

A curriculum is literally a race course. The race course of education provided by the teacher is all too often anything but an opening of the way to the student. Academics come to regard their courses as substance and to forget in teaching them that they are organizations of signs and symbols which tell about, or tools which work over, something that they themselves are not. They differ in how they talk about or handle their subject matter, not in their subject matter. Their subject matter is the same—it is the diversity of mankind in all the diversities of relationships they take on and leave off. The vital function of curriculum is to be a link of union, not a mold of unity. Its job is intercommunication such as interfaith undertakings or intercultural education pretend to and consistently fail to work out. Any specialty can become an instrument of liberation by abandoning isolation for union. The moment it is brought to bear upon some other specialty so that the two suffuse one another, they become units in a team play of the different—I like to say an orchestration of the different.

From this it follows, does it not, that the humanities and the social sciences need be sharply distinguished and opposed only at their extremes of method and manner. The convention maintaining these distinctions and the convenience of departmental bookkeeping are the efficacious wall of separation between the disciplines. But what except convenience, convention, and the tradition of the learned does segregate Plato or Bacon into a department of philosophy or the humanities and keep them out of the social sciences? What else keeps Lucretius exclusively a man of letters and rejects him as a man of science? What else requires that Dante shall be studied as poet and not as theologian, or Dickens read as novelist and not as social scientist describing and interpreting the same being and doing as Marx? Is it by their whats or their hows that we segregate Dreiser or Sinclair Lewis or Emile Zola from Lester Ward, or Emile Durckheim, or Bertrand Russell? Or that we shut William James, or George Santayana, or Ernst Cassirer, or Max Weber, or Thorstein Veblen, or Maynard Keynes, or Sigmund Freud, or John Dewey into one category and shut them out of another? In all candor, curricular isolations and segregations follow from an attitude and support a "value system" embodying competitive departmental interests. That they have no "objective" ground is evinced by the fact that the New School does very well without such segregations and exclusions. Identical works recur in many diverse "departmental" configurations. Sometimes the "department" of sociology will list courses interpreting theologians like St. Augustine, political scientists like Montesquieu, novelists like Dostoievsky, poets like Dante, and essayists like Montaigne for study as sociologists making contributions to sociology; the "department" of political science will list courses treating of Augustine, Dante, and the others for their views on the political order. And so with economic and philosophical inquiries. Are the teachers of these courses teaching social science or the humanities? What answer you get will follow from what they have chosen to communicate to the learner. There is nothing except the teacher's choice to prevent him from communicating both at once.

Perhaps the most important distinction between the two configurations of the same material is produced by the spread, the elaboration, and the ever-growing detailed use of quantifiers—the invasion of the trivium by the quadrivium. But quantifiers, obviously in view of their quadrivial heritage, are capable of as humanistic uses as tropes, while tropes can be as scientific as quantifiers. What, indeed, does not have its measure and meter? Poetry can serve as social science; psychometry, sociometry, econometry can serve as poetry. Function is what here produces the difference. However convenient it is to make the kind of distinctions we do make, the distinctions turn rather on attitudes and choices of persons who communicate the subject and not on some inner quality or attribute of the material which they communicate.

From the standpoint of the American Idea the important thing is that communication shall liberate, that education shall use whatever can serve as an instrument of liberation without prejudice, and use it with the consent and co-operation of the adult as he is, where he is, as a heart and a head, when he comes questing to school.

How may our adult's good will be won and held, his interest engaged, his powers committed? I know of no certain answer. Every means is a gamble. But of this I am certain: We court failure whenever we forget or ignore that he comes to school exhausted and let down by his day's work and that he hopes to find in school replenishment, lift, and re-creation. His outlook and intention are not comparable to the undergraduate's whose day's work is learning and who usually tries to escape from the labors of classroom learning into the activities of living what is called "college life."

Nor is the adult like the undergraduate in the classroom a member of a captive audience. He joines the class by choice and freely. Nor is he a member of a college community; he is little likely to enter into any lasting association with fellow-students. His basic relationships as student are not to them but to his teachers. He is alone in the crowd, and he greatly needs from the teachers more than skill or knowledge, friendliness, warmth, an open-minded, and appreciative attitude toward his limitations, and an encouragement of his abilities such as we often think, not altogether correctly, that the regular college students can dispense with. Without those, skill and knowledge are little likely to come alive for the adult.

Now the teacher who can take this attitude spontaneously is endowed with—I cannot find any other than a theological term—charisma. How well or how lastingly it can be acquired I am not able to say. I can only say that every teacher is apter at the task of liberation if his skills of communication are animated by this welcoming, attractive spirit, which is like a mother's, or an apt kindergarten teacher's steadily working to help her little pupils to self-help, and to self-criticism as an instrument of self-help. Whether the teacher of adults brings these consequences about by the lecture method, or by means of group discussion or any other pedagogic gags and gadgets said to be effective in the education of the adult, must depend upon his judgment of the personal character of the class, of how fatigued they are when a session begins, of what is most likely at the moment to awaken and release their energies, and of what, especially, is most likely to set them going in a different direction, on a new line. In a word, teaching best starts where the learners are, not where the teacher is. On occasion I ask pupils, "What is the difference between an archeologist and a garbage collector?" In terms of overt behavior the archeologist collects dead garbage and the garbage collector collects living garbage. If a sanitary engineer should be described as a garbage collector with a college education, an archeologist might be in all reason similarly described. The functional difference between garbage collector and archaeologist follows from the fact that for the latter the refuse of dead civilizations, fragments entirely meaningless to the diggers whom the archaeologist employs, become signs of a chain of change and movement in history and biography. An archaeological item, in itself but dirt and rubble and garbage, becomes a force which animates and releases the powers and the skills of the archaeologist and sets that nonsense in perspectives which endows it with sense for the onlooker to whom it is communicated in the sacred fanes of museums. There is, I trust, no need to persuade you that it is far more essential to the economy of our urban culture to collect its living garbage than to collect the dead garbage of ancient civilizations. We can survive without archaeology but not without garbage collecting. But as human labors, neither could make sense save as imagination sets whatever each collects in perspectives of causes and consequences which are the all of understanding. Would it be altogether a trope to say that the education of the adult is also a task of achieving perspectives? Whatever the level, whatever the area, the task is to take anything or everything in the personal experience—day life and night life together—that seems inwardly low and mean and dirty, and to set it in the transforming perspective of the historical and biographical sequences of the arts and the sciences. A person seeing whatever it be that he is or has, at the time he is or has it, spanned by these perspectives, experiences them as passages into growing freedom. They serve him as vehicles he can propel himself with, out of the isolations of habit and the segregations of prejudice, into felt fellowship with all persons of all times and places. By means of such perspectives, his learning can follow from, instead of merely following after, whatever he is or has at hand, here and now.

This way of adult education seems to me the use of it as an opening of doors to freedom. It is a way we keep on trying out with deep faith and not with much illusion at the New School. That's my story, believe it or not.

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notes and essays on education for adults

Adult Education as a Time-Binding Process

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940 east fifty-eighth street • chicago 37, illinois

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the association of university evening colleges.

number 8

march 1954

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1954

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PREFACE

Dr. Hayakawa's paper is the second publication to result from the seminars which the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults sponsored in May 1953 for university evening college faculty members. The first publication was Professor Horace Kallen's paper, "The Liberation of the Adult." See Notes & Essays No. 7.

Dr. Hayakawa directed the seminar on the Communications Arts; his paper was presented at a joint meeting between participants from the Communications Seminar and the seminar for faculty members in the sciences.

The Center is happy to publish this additional contribution to the on-going discussion of the purposes and problems of university-level adult education.

John B. Schwertman, Director

Center for the Study of
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Chicago, Illinois
March, 1954

ADULT EDUCATION
AS A TIME-BINDING PROCESS

Man is, as Korzybski said, the time-binder, whose specific means of survival is communication not only among the living members of the species, but also from the dead to the living, from the living to generations yet unborn. Biologists have recently begun to view man in much the same way. Different creatures have, in the course of evolution, specialized in the development of a variety of survival mechanisms: man may be viewed, says J. Z. Young, the English anatomist who represents this point of view, as the creature whose specific technique of survival has been the development of means of communication—which includes the brain capacity to create the complex abstractions and symbolizations which make communication of other than primitive kinds possible. Professor Young's special contribution is the light he throws on human societies and institutions and the symbols which unite them by viewing them as mechanisms for the organization of communication. In the Fifth Lecture of his book, Doubt and Certainty in Science, he tells how, when looking at the magnificent architecture of the cathedral of Notre Dame in Paris, he found tears in his eyes. Somebody, he felt, was communicating something to him by means of that great and beautiful structure. As a biologist interested in communication among animals and among human beings, he reflected hard and long on the question, "What is the cathedral communicating? What biological purpose does that communication serve?" In trying to answer such questions as these, he arrived at a number of conclusions about human cooperation and communication which I, in turn, have filtered through my own evaluative screen and have reorganized. I wish to present tonight some conclusions I have arrived at since reading J. Z. Young's great book.

A very early method of ensuring communication among people and creating societies, Professor Young asserts, was what I shall call here the Stage I method of organization, or Organization around a Physical Symbol. At first, Professor Young conjectures, the symbol of society must have been a meeting place.

> Some of the earliest of these (human) assemblies occurred at prominent hills of suitable shape, on and around which large numbers of people came together. One of the clearest pieces of evidence that we have about early social man is that he soon began to build large artificial hills. Objects nearly as big as anything we build now were the product of some of the early agricultural communities, nearly 10,000 years ago. Such huge objects are found all over the world—an English example is Silbury Hill in Wiltshire. I suggest that the value of building these objects was that they and their names were the signs by which men were trained to react to each other in such a way as to make society possible. At first, this must have been learned by all coming together at one place. Ritual feasting (and other ceremonies) are occasions of training of the brains of the members of the community, so that they shall continue to react correctly, and hence get a living by cooperation and communication. Mankind has gone on assembling and building assembly places ever since. It is assuredly one of the features that the biologist should notice about him.
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> The hill is a very convenient symbol because it is easy to ensure that the association is quickly formed. Everyone can stand or sit on the symbol while the ceremonies are performed. . . . But there are obvious disadvantages about large symbols too. If they are to act as signs for the whole of a big population it soon becomes hardly possible to get everyone on or in. You can, however, have a lot of rather smaller objects or temples, in place of the original natural holy mountain. Their construction may be reckoned as the first act of making tools of communication, the direct ancestor of television engineering we might say. . . .

As we read these lines from Professor Young, the hearer has no doubt been reminded, as I have, of other instances of the Stage I type of organization around physical symbols: the Indian burial mound; shrines, churches and temples; the Ark of the Covenant of the Old Testament. It would be justifiable, too, I think, to classify the organization of societies around kingships—a living individual, or a dynasty of living individuals—as another form of the Stage I type of organization.

Next in the history of human cooperation and communication came Stage II, which I shall call the Stage of Organization around Verbal Symbols. Let me quote again from Professor Young:

> . . . each temple has its own spirit. How then can all temples serve as a means of association for a large group? At some stage arose the habit of speaking of a single god,

> resident not in one but in many temples. This was a discovery of very great power. The peoples who first learned it produced one of the greatest of human advances.

Indeed it was a great advance to go from the physical to the verbal symbol, for the separate temples at Miletus and Rome and Carthage and Athens could then be defined as the dwelling places of one God, whose spirit is everywhere. In short, progress from the physical to the verbal symbols enabled social organization among people who lived much too far apart ever to meet in one place for an annual ceremony memorializing their solidarity. Everyone who acknowledged the name of the one God and the appropriate beliefs and dogmas that went with that acknowledgment could be recognized as belonging to the same community. But the transition from Stage I to Stage II was not easily made. Long established habits had to be uprooted and there must have been many for whom the transition was too much. As Professor Young says:

> It seems at first quite illogical....How could one person live in many places? An example of this was the dilemma of David when driven out of Israel to live among the Philistines. His god was associated with the particular soil from which he had been expelled, so he felt separated from his god and actually—and this is the point—he felt unable to worship him. Naaman overcame a similar difficulty by carrying two sacks of hallowed soil with him on a mule. But the real solution of the problem came by emphasis on the name of the god. . . . The worship of the name of one god, not associated with any one place, was surely the symbol that provided the cement for the next stage of human evolution, in which we still partly are.

The Stage I sentiments of affection for a central meeting place exist to some degree in all of us to this day. Mohammedans turn to their central meeting place, Mecca, when they pray, and try to visit the city before they die. Roman Catholics, too, like to visit Rome if at all possible at least once in their lives. But Christians, taking full advantage of the abstractive capacity of the verbal symbol, have also long known how to consecrate a holy place in the wilderness by putting up a cross out of the trees they find there, as is often told of Catholic missionaries in early America.

The high point in Western monotheistic culture, which I have called the Stage of Organization around Verbal Symbols, was, as Professor Young says, the Middle Ages. Speaking still as a biologist studying the communication systems of the human species, he writes:

> The rule by which brains had functioned in the Western world in the middle ages was to describe everything that was observed in terms of religious symbols. By this convention of speech and writing all human experience and action was (sic) unified. It was an efficient brain system, producing a well-organized society and reasonably stable conditions.

Professor Young does not mention the Mohammedan world, but it too was organized around a Verbal Master Symbol, so that it was largely a Stage II type of organization, reaching a high point in the 8th century, when the Saracen Empire reached from Spain to Mongolia; and still another high point in the Ottoman Empire in the 16th century. The T'ang Empire, stretching from the Chica coast to the Caspian Sea in the 7th century, and the Byzantine Empire, which reached its climax in about the 10th century, are further instances of great societies organized on a combination of Stage I and Stage II principles, which means by the creation of common semantic reactions among large and widely scattered populations to certain Master Symbols—these symbols being as a rule the person of an emperor or king or pope, who in turn symbolizes an abstract principle which explains to the people the basis of their unity.

Useful as the Stage II principle of social organization around Master Symbols has been for thousands of years, there were limits beyond which it could not be extended, as the decline of the great empires of the past amply attests. These limits were probably set by the technical limitations of communication. With messages carried by horseback, on foot, or by sailing vessel, it is remarkable that the empires of the past ever managed to become as large as they did. But there are other than physical limits to this principle of organization.

What the great religions and empires and religious empires of Stage II have in common, as I have said, is that they were means of organizing communication and cooperation among large groups of people often far removed from each other by having them share common semantic reactions to extremely general Master Symbols. Like the Stage I method, however, its fundamental premise is the identification of what sociologists call an in-group, which means that by the very act of so doing, an out-group is also defined. Just as you knew in a Stage I culture that the man you met once a year at the Great Burial Mound was a fellow-tribesman and therefore one with whom you could safely communicate, so you knew in a Stage II culture that the man who paid his respects to the same Master Symbols that you respected was someone it was safe to talk to. We have all read those conversations in the Arabian Nights which begin, "Allah is great!" to which the other person replies, "Allah is indeed great!" After these preliminaries, communication begins. Suppose, however, the second person in response to the greeting, "Allah is great!" replies, "Jesus is my Savior"? In short, at the Stage II level of human development, the human race is inevitably divided into the in-group, the believers, and the out-group, the unbelievers, the infidels, the lesser breeds without the law, with whom communication is by definition impossible, or, at best, improbable.

Next, then, there is Stage III in the development of human cooperation and communication, which I shall call the Stage of Organization around Shared Perceptions. This is perhaps the greatest advance of all in the history of human communication. The basic idea of this new stage was clearly understood to many of the ancient Greeks, to whom we should be profoundly grateful, not for their metaphysics, but for their early researches in science. Let me present a characteristic communication of Stage III, quoted from Strato, one of Aristotle's successors in the headship of the Lyceum at Athens, who occupied that position from 287 to 269 B.C.

> We must first correct a popular illusion. It must be clearly grasped that vessels which are generally believed to be empty are not really empty but are full of air. Now air, in the opinion of the natural philosophers, consists of minute particles of matter for the most part invisible to us. . . . To prove this make the following experiment. Take a seemingly empty vessel. Turn it upside-down, taking care to keep it vertical, and plunge it into a dish of water. Even if you depress it until it is completely covered no water will enter. This proves that air is a material thing which prevents the water entering the vessel because it has previously occupied all the available space. . . . If . . . you lift the vessel vertically out of the water and turn it up and examine it you will see that the interior of the vessel has remained perfectly dry. This

constitutes the demonstration that air is a bodily substance.*

What is important to notice in Strato's method of communication is that, instead of saying, "Listen, friend, since I acknowledge the same god as you, you know that you can believe me when I say that air is a material substance," he says, "You don't have to take my word for it; you can see for yourself." As Benjamin Farrington says, in a scientific statement "a confirmatory action is demanded of the listener, a repetition of the experience." Such a statement is what we call in semantics "operational," in that it describes an operation the listener can perform to see for himself whether or not it is true. No doubt people had been making operational statements for thousands of years before Strato came along, but what is important in the Greek scientists, including Aristotle in those writings in which he writes as a scientist, is the fact that they tried systematically to make publicly confirmable, and only publicly confirmable, statements about selected areas of experience in order to organize knowledge and make it more readily communicable and usable. These systematic attempts on the part of the ancient Greeks are the foundations of Western science. As we shall see later, Strato and Theophrastus and others like them were 1500 years or more before their time, but without their contributions the scientists of the early Renaissance would have had even less to start on.

The significant thing about Strato's way of communicating from our point of view is that it transcends local or regional loyalties and makes intercultural communication possible. In other words, what Strato says about air makes equal sense whether addressed to Greeks, Christians, Mohammedans, Hindus, or Australian aborigines. Anybody anywhere who has access to a jug and some water can see for himself whether or not Strato is right. And Strato's example of scientific communication is still, in principle, scientific communication today. The scientist today says, "If you will use the same language I use, perform the operations I have performed, and compute your results by the same mathematical system with which I compute, you will come to the same conclusions I came to.

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* Benjamin Farrington, Greek Science II, p. 32.

If you do not, let us compare what we did, step by step, and find out what misunderstanding of terms, what differences in the conditions of the experiment, what errors on your part or mine, caused the difference in the results. Then, when we have agreed on our conclusions, let us keep in communication with each other and proceed to other experiments. In this way you and I can help each other to know more and more about the world."

Now the great revolution implied in the transition from Stage II to Stage III is that while at Stage II agreements at high levels of abstraction (about God, about the Transmigration of Souls, about the Divine Right of Kings, etc.) were the basis of agreements at lower levels of abstraction, at Stage III the reverse is the case. At Stage III, we have to agree about obvious and even trivial things before agreeing about more general things. Systematic agreement about the properties of wood, water, metals, air, gases, has to be established before we can talk about matter in general. Similarly, we have to collect verifiable observations about a variety of foods and diets and their effects on thousands of individuals before we can make a general statement about nutrition, and even then, we leave our general statement open to revision in the light of later observation. True enough, science sometimes makes a long extrapolation beyond the confirmable facts, as in the case of the theory of evolution, but that extrapolation is not accepted into the body of science until many more facts are adduced in its support. Science, then, proceeds from agreements at lower levels of abstraction, step by step, to higher levels.

The caution and the so-called "objectivity" with which science proceeds, far from indicating the amorality of science, indicates its profound sense of social responsibility. The true scientist is so responsible to the rest of human society, including people of nationalities and religions different from his own, that he is unwilling to go beyond what anybody else can confirm. The scientist holds in check his preference of monogamy over polygamy, of private enterprise over collectivism, of his own national culture over other cultures, not because he is indifferent to these issues, but because he feels that these are subjects about which publicly confirmable statements cannot yet be made, and because he wants above all, as a responsible communicator, to maintain the optimum conditions of communication with everybody, including those who may have different preferences as regards marriage customs, economic systems, or patriotic loyalties. He knows that to intrude the preferences of his own culture into his scientific discourse is to cut off his usefulness as a cummunicator to some segment of humanity. Does this mean that the scientist will forever refrain from making statements about disputed points of conduct or of social organization? Indeed it does not. It means merely that he is waiting until his statements about such matters can be put in confirmable form. Actually, scientists in the psychological and social sciences have already gone quite far in their attempts to throw light on problems of conduct and public affairs formerly settled by habit, intuition, or dogma; for example, in such areas as child care, psychology, psychiatry, criminology, and industrial management, the storehouse of confirmable and confirmed statements is steadily being added to.

The act of communication, says Anatol Rapoport in his forthcoming book, Operational Philosophy, is the basic moral act. The morality of Stage I insists that by regular participation in appropriate rituals at a common meeting place, you maintain communication and cooperation with all the fellow-members of your tribe. The Morality of Stage II insists that, by the acknowledgment of more abstract symbols accepted in common by thousands or even millions who share those symbols with you, you maintain communication and cooperation with all your co-religionists. The morality of Stage III insists that you try to maintain communication and cooperation with everybody, by basing your communications on the similarities in human nervous systems and the similarities of the experience of those nervous systems in their encounters with the observable world. One begins with the sharing of perceptions about commonplace or even obvious things, so that, with the establishment of myriads of little agreements, larger and larger agreements become possible. Each of the three stages is moral, in that each is a method of establishing and ensuring cooperation. Each requires the foregoing of egotistic drives in the interests of the larger group. For man is a social creature, which means that he is an incurably moral creature, finding his fulfillment only as he relates meaningfully and is in communication with a society.

Today we are largely in transition from Stage II and Stage III concepts of morality. This means, then, that the vast struggles in the world today are incorrectly thought of if they are described as the struggle of moral people versus immoral people, or, as my little boy puts it, good guys versus bad buys. What is struggling to emerge out of the great moralities of Stage II, now no longer adequate as a principle of human organization, is the even more general and all-embracing morality of Stage III. The emergence of the new morality is slow, because all of us are struggling under the weight of sackloads of the holy soil of Israel, unable, like Naaman, to understand that it is possible to love and to pray without them.

The crippling effect of these sackfuls of the earth of Israel is evident today in a number of schools of thought which express, in one form or another, a profound desire for the re-establishment of a unitary society—a kind of society usually described with great eloquence as having order, homogeneity, and an agreed-upon set of values. These schools of thought are sometimes known as the New Conservatism. Their starting point is an anguished wringing of the hands at what they call the "chaos and confusion" of modern life. By chaos and confusion they do not simply mean the fact that most people and nations have not yet learned to resolve their differences in an orderly way. They mean rather that the very fact of people having different value systems and interests is something to be deplored. They do not accept the pluralism and heterogeneity of modern civilization, which some find its chief attraction.

I am calling attention to the Naaman's problem in the transition from one stage of cooperation and communication to another because we are again in a stage of transition. Those whom I regard today as struggling under sackloads of the soil of Israel are those who believe that communication is possible only when, as they say, metaphysical unity is restored. The necessary condition of communication, they believe, is agreement on first principles. As one prominent modern Neo-Scholastic says, "Among the Greeks

. . . metaphysics . . . is the ordering and proportioning discipline. It is in the light of metaphysics that the social sciences, dealing with man and man, and the physical sciences, dealing with man and nature, take shape and illuminate one another. In metaphysics we are seeking the causes of the things that are. It is the highest science, the first science, and as first, universal." "If we can revitalize metaphysics and restore it to its place in the higher learning, we may be able to establish rational order in the modern world." This, you will see, is a theory of communication. The theory is that those who agree on first principles can communicate. Without such agreement, we have the accumulation of facts, such as goes on in the sciences, "undigested, unrelated, and meaningless." We also have, in the absence of metaphysical agreement, pragmatism, empiricism, relativism, materialism, and the baleful influence of teachers colleges. Hence the chaos and confusion of modern life.

The great task of adult education, then, according to this point of view, is to teach everybody enough metaphysics so that communication among men will again become possible. This is the reason for the huge emphasis on Plato and Aristotle in some of the Great Books programs—indeed, the Great Books themselves are often spoken of and taught as if they constituted the set of Master Symbols around which cultural unity, such as existed in the Middle Ages, could be restored.

In constrast to this I should like to make specific, in an example drawn from the life of this very community in which we are meeting, a large adult education program now going on which illustrates what I mean by the Stage III method of social organization of cooperation and communication around shared perceptions.

The part of Chicago in which this hotel is located is known as Hyde Park. The neighborhood immediately to the north of us, starting on the street on which I live, is known as Kenwood. The Hyde-Park-Kenwood district is said, in the language of urban sociology, to be a transitional area—which is a polite way of saying that it is on the road to becoming a vast urban slum. Faced with this fact, there was founded in this neighborhood some four years ago an organization known as the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference, dedicated to the task of meeting realistically the changes taking place in the community. Headed by Professor Herbert Thelen of the University of Chicago (Stuart Chase tells the story in the May 1953 Readers Digest), the Conference began to organize block meetings so that communication among strangers living in the same block could be begun. Such meetings were difficult to organize unless the people in a block were worried about a common problem. Hence meetings were organized around those common problems: in one block people are concerned because of lack of adequate garbage removal; in another block there are no places for children to play safely; in still another block people are in a dither because Negroes are said to have bought one of the houses; in another block there are unsightly abandoned cars, or inadequate lighting or paving.

There are certain well-tested rules for the conduct of discussion at block and neighborhood meetings. Ideological discussions are avoided—for example, whether in a democracy one should or should not segregate Negroes and whites. As Professor Thelen says, no attempt is made to change prejudices or to question basic attitudes. Meetings are devoted first of all to getting an accurate description of the condition that people are concerned about, with investigating committees sent out for more facts when facts are lacking. Rumors are evaluated as rumors, and not acted upon until verified; and since most rumors have little foundation in fact, the mere act of establishing the facts dispels some of the anxieties that made the meetings necessary. Many times the allaying of false rumors in this community has changed the minds of people who had impulsively decided to sell their property and move to another part of town. The whole secret of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Community Conference lies in starting at the lowest levels of abstraction. As agreements about garbage removal, street lighting and repairing, the creation of play space, etc., are arrived at, these block organizations go on to further agreements about somewhat bigger things.

As a result of this program, interesting things are happening here in Hyde Park and Kenwood. The anxious, lonely people of a great city are beginning to have feelings of neighborliness, as in small towns. Individuals finding both emotional and practical rewards in coming to effective agreements with their neighbors about practical need in their blocks, are beginning to feel themselves part of an effective community. Some blocks have begun to set up neighborhood standards of property maintenance; joint enterprises for recreation, communication, and the solution of parking problems have been launched in various blocks. Together, the various block organizations have learned how to exert collective pressure on the City Hall for better policing, the enforcement of zoning laws, and the general improvement of the community. It is not yet known whether the Hyde Park-Kenwood Conference has saved the area from the deterioration that has inevitably overtaken such neighborhoods in the past, but enough has been accomplished to warrant the hope that a well-known sociological trend formerly regarded as irreversible may, in this instance, have been stopped and possibly reversed. As a result of even this modest degree of success, the Hyde Park-Kenwood Conference is now instructing others in Chicago and elsewhere in the methods which were employed.

Professor Herbert Thelen gave an account of the Hyde Park-Kenwood Conference at a lecture before the Chicago members of the International Society for General Semantics about a month ago. One of the audience was heard to remark afterwards, "By gosh, this is semantics in action!" Whether or not it is semantics in action (and I believe it is), the community block organizations in Hyde Park-Kenwood certainly demonstrate communication in action—communication in the sense of the Stage III principle of social organization—the organization of communication around the sharing of perceptions. In contrast to this, let me quote what one of our local neo-scholastic philosophers who holds what I have termed the State II theory of communication has written, "How can men who disagree about what the world is for, agree about any of the minutiae of daily conduct." By such a theory, the thing to do is to concentrate on the attainment of metaphysical agreement, let the garbage accumulate, and when the accumulation becomes intolerable, move to the suburbs, so that eventually the suburbs become intolerable too.

Science has been the one field of human activity in which communication based on the shared perception of publicly confirmable evidence, the disciplined progress from lower to higher levels of abstraction, and the determination to build larger and more general agreements on a foundation of little agreements have been the rules for the organization of communication. Unsystematically, we have proceeded by these rules in other areas too—Catholics and Protestants and Jews get along together in our mixed societies by avoiding the discussion of religion and cooperating as members of the same office staff or the same bowling team. Nations too get along together by respecting each other's cultural differences and cooperating on what might be called international housekeeping—the enforcement of international maritime regulations, agreement on postal exchange, treaties on the extradition of criminals, the creation of international systems of air traffic control, and all the other minutiae of international intercourse. Perhaps even at Panmunjon we are witnessing today the attempt to build a larger agreement about the exchange of all prisoners on the basis of an agreement on the exchange of sick and wounded prisoners.

In the light of the foregoing theories of communication—and especially in the light of the necessities of communication in a diverse and heterogeneous society such as we have in America (and the even greater heterogeneity of any world society such as we might hope eventually to evolve), it is possible, I think, to take a large and ambitious view of our tasks in adult education. In the stage of social organization around the Master Symbol, there need be no such thing as adult education; after one has been inculcated in youth in the proper responses to the Master Symbols of the culture, one is by definition in communication and cooperation with the fellow-members of his culture—in maturity he need only remember the proper responses to remain in communication. In the Stage of the Shared Perception, however, the needs of education are continuous throughout a lifetime; the termination of schooling is merely the beginning of one's responsibility to explore and create lines of communication with others—in one's profession, in one's community, in the nation, and in the world—so that the mature citizen is a constantly growing person who has learned and is continuing to learn how to share perceptions and therefore to interact fruitfully with an ever-widening community of people with whom he may have interests or aims in common. As Professor Norman Royall says in his paper "The Objective of Adult Education —A Search for the Major Premise,"—a paper to which I am by the way much indebted—the purpose of adult education is to create subcommunities within the open society "for the continuous solution of the essentially unpredictable problems which arise in an open society. . . . Adult education, thus conceived, is a very recent and highly refined aspect of the 'time-binding' process. But it is time-binding, not in preparation for life conceived statically as something that can be prepared for; rather it is time-binding for intelligent living in process, conceived of dynamically as something unpredictable and in some sense 'free.' "

I have already indicated why I believe education in science is education in the sharing of perceptions, and therefore, if adequately understood, a profoundly humanizing discipline. What we teach in the arts and the humanities are also experiences in the sharing of perceptions—although, to be sure, perceptions of a different kind from those of science. But to be able to enter imaginatively into the lives and problems of others through a sensitive perception of the products of creative art is to learn another great and important way in which we discover—and in discovering, create—community among men.

In adult education, as has often been pointed out in today's sessions, we deal with a highly diverse audience. Since most of our students are already established in their life careers they rarely come to us for specialist training; what we do as teachers must of necessity be sufficiently general in interest to relate to a variety of the already existing specializations that our students represent. We are not preparing them for life; they are in and of life. Hence, as Professor Royall suggests when he says that adult education is "time-binding for intelligent living in process," we can, whether as teachers of science, the humanities, or the communication arts, increase the resources by means of which our students can come into more fruitful interaction with their friends, their neighbors, their colleagues at work, and the larger community around them; but we cannot determine for them the goals of their education. As grown up people our students have their own goals, which our courses may or may not help them to realize.

Out of these facts arise the most exciting things about adult education. Matthew Arnold defined culture as the "application of ideas to life." Adult education is the direct pipeline between the university and the community. What we teach under-graduates may reach the community 10 or 20 years later if they remember that long what we taught them in college. But in adult education the ideas you present as a teacher find immediate application. The ideas you present Tuesday night in a class on semantics are tried out on Wednesday morning by the business man in your class at a meeting of the board of directors of which he is a member; that evening they are tried out by the woman in your class who is on a committee of the League of Women Voters. If there's something wrong with your idea, you hear about it the next time the class meets. Everything we say is evaluated by our students not against the background, as in the case of our day time students, of an inadequate high school education, but against the background of a variety of life experiences, by people who, each in his own way, has confronted situations which we may never have even dreamed of. Hence adult education is almost inevitably a process of richer interaction between ourselves and our students than can be experienced in the undergraduate classroom.

Hence in adult education, more than in any other kind of education, we are put on our mettle because it involves so rich and so exacting an application of ideas to life. Insofar as the ideas we may teach are applicable to life, we may, in our moments of self-congratulation and satisfaction because of a job well done, feel truly that we are contributing directly and in the most efficient way to the enrichment of our culture. But our ideas are not always applicable to life, although they often sound awfully good on paper. Confronted by the mature evaluations of our students, we are compelled to re-examine our most cherished academic beliefs and traditions. All this results in what is for me a tremendously significant thing about adult education—it is the best experience I know of for making adults out of teachers engaged in it.

But even more important than the effects of adult education on us as teachers are the promises of adult education for the culture as a whole. What our culture will develop into we cannot tell, but it is impossible to read a book like Frederick Lewis Allen's THE BIG CHANGE—a book dealing with the cultural changes in the United States in the past 50 years, without feeling that we here in America have before us possibilities in the enrichment of life that previous generations have only distantly dreamed of. Huey Long was jeered at as a demagogue for his slogan, "Every man a king." But our industrial system has proceeded in all seriousness towards the goal, "Every man a car-owner" without being jeered at. And our educational system has proceeded towards the goal of "Every man a high school graduate" also without being jeered at, and is undertaking even now the goal of making every man a college graduate.

Is it fantastic then to think of the ultimate goal of adult education as something like "Every man a philosopher"? Perhaps it is, but even as we dismiss the idea as quixotic, we ought to bear in mind, as educators, that the idea of universal literacy was regarded as quixotic only 200 years ago.

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Mass Society and Liberal Education

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4819 greenwood avenue · chicago 15, illinois

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults

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THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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Mass Society and Liberal Education

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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
1954

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PREFACE

Dr. Mills presented this essay in April 1954 at a National Conference on methods for the Study of the Urban Community. This Conference, held in New Orleans, was sponsored by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, in co-operation with University College, Tulane University. Dean John Dyer of Tulane was host to the Conference.

The problem of the Conference was to help clarify what is meant by the oft-used term "community needs." Several theoretical and research analyses were discussed. Dr. Mills' presentation was one of them. Because of its general interest to all adult educators, the Center is happy to publish this essay. Additional material from the New Orleans Conference will be published by the Center in the fall of 1954.

John B. Schwertman, Director

Chicago, Illinois
June, 1954

Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

MASS SOCIETY AND LIBERAL EDUCATION

By C. Wright Mills

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The transformation of a community of publics into a mass society is one of the keys to the meaning of modern life. It is a structural trend that leads directly to many of the psychological and political problems that Americans, especially those concerned with liberal education, now confront. In every industrial society, these problems are of national relevance, and in each of them the trend is rooted in the nation as a set of metropolitan areas. For it is from such metropolitan centers that there has spread those forces that are destroying or minimizing the classic liberal public and making for the ascendency of the mass society.

ONE: The "Community of Publics" and "The Mass Society"

The United States today is not altogether a mass society, and it has never been altogether a community of publics. These phrases are names for extreme types. Although they point to certain features of reality, they are themselves constructions. Social reality is always, or so it seems to me, some sort of mixture. But the point is that one can most readily understand just how much of what is mixed into it, if one first states, in terms of explicit dimensions, the clear-cut and extreme types.

At least four dimensions must be attended to if we are to understand the differences between public and mass: (I) There is first, the ratio of the givers of opinion to its receivers, which is, I think, the simplest way to state the key meaning of the formal media of communication. More than anything else, it is the shift in this ratio which is central to the problems of the public and of public opinion in latter-day phases of democracy.[1] (II.) There is second, the organization of communication, of which the most decisive aspect is the possibility of answering back an opinion without internal or external reprisals being taken.[2] (III.) Third, there is the ease with which opinion is effective in the shaping of decisions of powerful consequence. This opportunity for people to act out their opinions collectively is of course limited by their position in the structure of power.[3] (IV.) Fourth, there is the degree to which instituted authorities, with their sanctions and controls, infiltrate the public. Here, the key problem becomes the degree of genuine autonomy from instituted authority which the public has.[4]

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[1] At one extreme on the scale of communication two people talk personally with one another; at the other extreme, one spokesman talks impersonally through a communications net to millions of hearers and viewers. In between these two extremes, there are assemblages and political rallies, parliamentary sessions, law court debates, small discussion circles dominated by one man, open discussion circles with talk moving freely back and forth among fifty people, and so on.

[2] Three conditions set the organization of communication: first, technical conditions of the means of communication, in imposing a lower ratio of speakers to listeners, may obviate the pos-

By combining these dimensions, it is possible to construct models of publics and diagrams of the societies with which they seem congruent. Since "the problem of public opinion" is now set by the eclipse of the classic bourgeois public," we are here concerned with only two types:[5]

In a *public* as I understand the term, virtually as many people express opinions as receive them; public communications are so organized that there is a chance immediately and effectively to answer back to any opinion expressed in public. Opinion formed by such discussion readily finds an outlet in effective action against, if necessary, prevailing systems and agents of authority, and authoritative institutions do not interpenetrate the public, which is thus more or less autonomous in its operations. When

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sibility of freely answering back. Second, informal rules, resting upon conventional sanction and upon the informal structure of opinion leadership, may govern who can speak, when, and for how long. Such rules may or may not be in congruence with, third, formal rules, with institutional sanction, which govern the communication process. In the extreme case, we may conceive of an absolute monopoly of communication to pacified media groups whose members cannot answer back even "in private." At the opposite extreme, the conditions may allow and the rules may uphold the wide and symmetrical formation of opinion.

[3] This structure may be such as to limit decisively this capacity, or it may allow or even invite it. The structure may confine it to local areas or enlarge its area of opportunity; may make it intermittent or more or less continuous.

[4] At one extreme, no agent of the formal system of authority moves among the autonomous public. At the other extreme, the public becomes a mass terrorized into uniformity by the infiltration of informers and the universalization of suspicion. One thinks of the late Nazi street and block system, the 18th century Japanese kumi, the Soviet cell structure. In the end, the formal structure of power coincides, as it were, with the informal ebb and flow of influence by discussion, which is thus killed off.

[5] I shall not here consider a type of "public" which might be called *conventional consensus*, and which is a feature of traditional societies in which there is no idea of public opinion as it has arisen in the modern, western world.

these conditions prevail, we have the working model of a community of publics, and this model, as we shall presently see, fits pretty closely the several assumptions of classic democratic theory.

At the opposite extreme, in a mass, far fewer people express opinions than receive them; for the community of publics becomes an abstracted collectivity of individuals who receive impressions from the mass media. The communications that prevail are so organized that it is difficult or impossible for the individual to answer back immediately or with any effect. The realization of opinion in action is controlled by authorities who organize channels for such action. The mass has no autonomy from institutions; on the contrary, agents of authorized institutions interpenetrate this mass, reducing any autonomy it may have in the formation of opinion by discussion.

The public and the mass may be most readily distinguished by their dominant modes of communication: in a community of publics, discussion is the ascendant mode of communication, and the mass media, if they exist, simply enlarge and animate discussion, linking one primary public with the discussions of another. In a mass society, the dominant type of communication is by the formal media and the publics become media markets, by which I mean all those exposed to the contents of given mass media.

TWO: The Classic Public

Let us pause for a moment and consider generously the classic public of democratic theory, in the spirit in which Rousseau once cried: "Opinion, Queen of the World, is not subject to the power of kings; they are themselves its first slaves."

The key feature of public opinion which the rise of the democratic middle classes initiates is the free ebb and flow of discussion. In this community of publics anyone who would speak, can; and anyone who is interested, does. The possibilities of answering back, of organizing autonomous organs of public opinion, of realizing opinion in action, are automatically established by democratic institutions. For the public opinion that results from discussion is understood to be a resolution that is to be carried out by public action; it is, in one version, the "general will" of the people, which parliament or Congress enacts into law, thus lending to it institutional force. Parliament, as an institution, crowns all the primary publics; it is the archetype for each of the scattered little circles of face-to-face citizens discussing their public business.

This 18th century idea of public opinion parallels the economic idea of the free market economy. Here is the public composed of discussing circles of opinion peers crowned by parliament; there is the market composed of freely competing entrepreneurs. As price is the result of anonymous, equally-weighted, bargaining individuals, so is the public of public opinion the result of each man having thought things out for himself and contributing his weight to the great formation. To be sure, some might have more influence on the state of opinion than others, but no one man or group monopolizes the discussion, or by himself determines the state of opinion that prevails.

Innumerable discussion circles are knit together by mobile people who carry opinions, and struggle for the power of larger command. The public is thus organized into associations and parties, each representing a viewpoint, each trying to acquire a place in parliament or Congress, where the discussion continues. The autonomy of these discussion circles is a key element in the idea of "public opinion" as a democratic legitimation. The opinions formed are actively realized within the prevailing institutions of power; and all authoritative agents are made or broken by the prevailing opinions of primary publics.

Insofar as the public is frustrated in realizing its demands upon its agents, it may come to question the symbols of authority to which it has been devoted. Such questioning is of course of a deeper order than criticism of specific policies, but new political parties, of left or right, may attempt in their agitation to use the discussion of specific policies in order to bring the legitimations themselves into question. So, out of the little circles of people talking with one another, the large forces of social movements and political parties develop; and the discussion of opinion is the phase in a total act by which public affairs are conducted.

So conceived, the public is the loom of classic, 18th century democracy; discussion is at once the threads and the shuttle tying the discussion circles together. It lies at the basis of the conception of authority by discussion, based on the hope that truth and justice will somehow carve out of society a great apparatus of free discussion. The people are presented with problems. They discuss them. They decide on them. They formulate viewpoints. These viewpoints are organized, and they compete. One viewpoint "wins out." Then the people act out this view, or their representatives are instructed to act it out, and this they promptly do.

Such are the images of classic democracy which are still used as the working legitimations of power in American society. You will recognize this description as a set of images out of a fairy tale; they are not adequate even as an approximate model of how this society works.

In our situation of half-mass and half-public, the term public, in fact, has come to have a specialized meaning, which dramatically reveals its eclipse. From the standpoint of the public actor—the democratic politician, for example—some people who clamor publicly can be identified as "Labor" and others as "Business," and still others as "Farm." Those who cannot readily be so identified make up the "Public." In this usage, "the public" is composed of the unidentified and non-partisan in the world of defined and partisan interests. It is socially composed of well-educated salaried professionals, especially college professors; of non-unionized employees, especially white-collar people, along with non-employing, self-employed professionals and small businessmen.

In this faint echo of the classic notion, the public consists of those remnants of the middle classes, old and new, whose interests are not explicitly defined, organized, or clamorous. In a curious adaptation, "the public" often becomes, in fact, "the unattached expert," who, although well informed, has never taken a clear-cut, public stand on those controversial issues which are brought to a focus by organized interests. What the public stands for, accordingly, is often a vagueness of policy (called open-mindedness), a lack of involvement in public affairs (known as reasonableness), and a professional disinterest (often known as tolerance).

Some members of such official publics, as in the field of labor-management mediation, start out very young and make a career out of being careful to be informed but never to take a strong position; and there are many others, quite unofficial, who take such professionals as a sort of model. The only trouble is that they are acting as if they were disinterested judges but they do not have the power of judges. Hence their reasonableness, tolerance and open-mindedness do not often count for much in the shaping of human affairs.

From almost any angle of vision that we might assume, when we look upon the community of publics, we realize that we have moved considerable distance along the road to the mass society. At the end of that road there is totalitarianism, as in Nazi Germany or in Communist Russia. We are not yet at that end; in the United States today, media markets are not entirely ascendant over primary publics. But surely we can see that the success of the demagogue in exploiting these media, and the decreased chance to answer back, is certainly more a feature of a mass society than of a community of publics. And there are many other signs.

What is happening might again be stated in terms of the historical parallel between the commodity market in the economic order and in the public of public opinion. In brief, there is a movement from widely scattered little powers to concentrated powers and the attempt at monopoly control from powerful centers. And in the centers of economics, of politics, and of opinion, power is partially hidden; they are centers of manipulation as well as of authority. The small shop serving a small neighborhood is replaced by the anonymity of the national corporation; mass advertisement replaces the personal influence of opinion between merchant and customer. The political leader hooks up his speech to a national network and speaks, with appropriate personal touches, to a million people he never saw and never will see.

Entire brackets of professions and industries are in the "opinion business," impersonally manipulating the public for hire. In the primary public, the competition of opinions goes on between people holding views in the service of their interests and their reasoning. But in the mass society of media markets, competition, if any, goes on between the crowd of manipulators with their mass media on the one hand, and the people receiving their propaganda on the other.

Under such conditions, it is not surprising that a conception of public opinion as a mere impressment or as a reaction—we cannot say "response"—to the content of the mass media should arise. In this view, the public is merely the collectivity of individuals each rather passively exposed to the mass media and rather helplessly opened up to the suggestions and manipulations that flow from these media. The fact of manipulation from centralized points of control constitutes, as it were, an expropriation of the information and change of opinion participated in by the old multitude of little opinion producers and consumers operating in a free and balanced market.

THREE: The Drift Towards Mass

In attempting to explain the ascendancy of mass over public, there are four major trends to which we should pay attention; for if we do not we shall not be able even to speculate fruitfully about the task of the college for adults in the metropolitan society of masses. These four structural trends of our epoch seem to me to coincide in their effects; they transform public into mass.

I. The rise of bureaucratic structures of executive power, in the economic, the military, and the political orders, has lowered the effective use of all these smaller voluntary associations operating between the state and the economy on the one hand, and the family on the other. It is not only that the institutions of power have become large-scale and inaccessibly centralized; they have at the same time become less political and more administrative. It is within this great change of framework that the organized public has waned.

In terms of scale, the transformation of public into mass has been underpinned by the shift from a political public decisively restricted in size (by property and education, as well as by sex and age) to a greatly enlarged mass having only the qualifications of citizenship and age. In terms of organization, the transformation has been underpinned by the shift from the individual and his primary community to the voluntary association and the mass party as the major units of organized power.

Voluntary associations have become larger to the extent that they have become effective; and to the extent that they have become effective, they have become inaccessible to the individual who would participate by discussion in their policies. Accordingly, along with older institutions, these voluntary associations have lost their grip on the individual. As greater numbers of people are drawn into the political arena, these associations become mass in scale, and because of the increased scale of the power structure, the power of the individual becomes more dependent upon these mass associations, and yet these are less accessible to his influence.[6]

Elections become first (1) contests between two giant and unwieldy parties, neither of which the individual can truly feel that he influences, and neither of which is capable of winning psychologically impressive majorities. Second (2), more and more, elections are decided in the irrational terms of silly appeals; less and less on clear and simple statements of genuine issue. Certainly the techniques of advertisement, and their use in the mass persuasion of an electorate, become more important than rational argument over real issues in public. And, in all this, the parties are of the same general form as other mass associations.[7]

What is not available is the association which has three characteristics: the association that is at once (1) a context in which reasonable opinions may be reached, (2) an agency by which reasonable activities may be undertaken; and (3) a powerful enough unit, in comparison with other organizations of power, to make a difference. Now the primary publics are either so small as to be swamped, and hence give up; or so large as to be merely another unit of the generally distant structure of power, and hence inaccessible. And in either case they are the more readily subjected to distorted images of the world by the mass media.

II. As the scale of institutions has become larger and more centralized, so have the range and intensity of the opinion makers' efforts. For the means of opinion-making—and this is the second master trend—have paralleled in range and efficiency the other institutions of greater scale that make up the modern society of masses. There is universal compulsory education—the seed-bed of nationalist propaganda and white-collar skills—and there are the media of mass communication. These mass media have apparently great variety and competition, but each of them often seems to be competing in terms of variations of a few standardized themes; and freedom of effective opinion seems more and more to operate within and between vested interests, organized and unorganized, that have ready and continual access to the media.

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[6] At the same time—and also because of the metropolitan segregation and distraction, which I shall discuss in a moment—the individual becomes more dependent upon the means of mass communication for his view of the structure as a whole.

[7] Well might E. H. Carr conclude: "To speak today of the defense of democracy as if we were defending something which we knew and had possessed for many decades or many centuries is self-deception and sham—mass democracy is a new phenomenon—a creation of the last half-century—which it is inappropriate and misleading to consider in terms of the philosophy of Locke or of the liberal democracy of the nineteenth century. We should be nearer the mark, and should have a far more convincing slogan, if we spoke of the need, not to defend democracy, but to create it." The New Society, pp. 75-76.

Early observers such as Charles Horton Cooley believes that the increase of the range and volume of the mass media would, as I have said, enlarge and animate the public,[8] but what it has done has helped kill it off. I do not refer merely to the higher ratio of deliverers of opinion to receivers and to the decreased chance to answer back. Nor do I mean merely the violent banalization and stereotyping of our very sense organs which these media make almost necessary. I have in mind a sort of technological illiteracy, which is expressed in three ways:

First, these media, especially television, have encroached upon the small-scale discussion, upon the leisurely human interchange of opinion.

Second, these media do not connect the information on issues that they do provide with the troubles felt by the individual. They do not increase rational insight into tensions, neither those in the individual nor those of the society which are reflected in the individual. On the contrary, they distract attention from such tension. They carry a general tone of animated distraction, a suspended agitation, but it is going nowhere and has nowhere to go: the chief distracting tension of the media is between the wanting and the not having of commodities or of women held to be good looking. As they now generally prevail, the media not only fail as an educational force; they are a malign force—in that they do not reveal to the viewer the sources of his tension and anxiety, his inarticulate resentments and half-formed hopes.

Third, these media do not enable the individual to transcent the narrow milieux in which he lives, or truly connect them with the larger realities of what is happening in the world. On the contrary, they obscure these connections by distracting his attention and fastening it upon artificial frenzies that are resolved within the program framework, usually by violent action, or by what is called humor. In short, for the viewer, not really resolved at all. I shall later return to this point.

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[8] In Cooley's optimistic view, written before radio and movies, the formal media are understood as simply multiplying the scope and pace of popular discussion. Modern conditions, he writes, "enlarge indefinitely the competition of ideas, and whatever has owed its persistence merely to lack of comparison is likely to go, for that which is really congenial to the choosing mind will be all the more cherished and increased." Still excited by the breakup of local, conventional consensus, he sees the means of communication as furthering the conversational dynamic of classic democracy and with it the growth of rational and free individuality. Social Organization, p. 93; see Chapter IX.

III. A third explanation for the ascendancy of masses has to do with the class, status and occupational structure of modern society, of which the most important shift in the twentieth century has been the numerical decline of the old middle class of independent entrepreneurs and practitioners, and the rise of the new middle class of dependent white-collar workers.[9] This change in the economic and social make-up of the middle classes carries two meanings for the transformation of public into mass:

(1) Up until the later nineteenth century, in fact into the Progressive Era, the old middle class acted as an independent base of power, for the individual and for the class. Political freedom and economic security were both anchored in the fact of small-scale independent properties, and these scattered properties, and their holders, were integrated economically by free and autonomous markets, and politically by the process of representative democracy. The white-collar groups are not such an independent base of power: economically, they are in the same situation as propertiless wage workers; politically they are in a worse condition, for they are not organized.

(2) The second meaning of this shift has to do with what is called civic spirit as well as what is called nationalism. Civic spirit is nationalism on a local basis; nationalism is civic spirit written large. At least, the psychological scheme for each is much the same:

People in the top levels of the nation or the city voluntarily run various enterprises and push various interests. The underlying population, identifying themselves with these top people, believe these enterprises to be in their interest also, and indeed accept the identification of these interests with the welfare of the nation or the city as a whole. Sometimes they are right; sometimes they are wrong; but in either case energetic management by the leaders and cheerful acquiescence of the population are indispensable requirements for the kind of morale known as civic spirit or nationalism.

In any well-run American city, the men and women of the independent middle class have been the traditional chieftains of civic drives and enterprise. For one thing, they usually have the time and money that is needed; at least some of them are fairly well educated. Their work in conducting a small business is said to train them for initiative and responsibility, and does put them in touch with the administrative and political figures of the city, who, in fact, are usually drawn from their circles. In addition, the small businessman often stands to benefit personally as a result of civic improvement: better roads and streets, for example, lead to greater sales for the retail merchant. Mere self-interest often dictates that the businessman should be someone civically. By participating actively in civic affairs, he widens his circle of contacts and customers.

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[9] *Cf.* Mills, *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951). Roughly, in the last two generations, as proportions of the middle classes as a whole, the old middle class has declined from 85 to 44 per cent; the new middle class has risen from 15 to 56 per cent. See pp. 63 ff.

There is no need to stress the point that as the old public rested upon such entrepreneurs, so the decline of the public rests upon the transformation of the middle class into salaried employees, often employees of a local branch of a national corporation.[10] In fact, one thing that is happening in America today is that the structure of such loyalty as was once centered in the city is shifting to the massive corporation.[11] In terms of power, this is realistic; in terms of notions of the classic public, it is disastrous.

IV. A fourth master trend making for a mass society is the rise of the metropolis, and the only point I want to make about it is that the growth of this metropolitan society has segregated men and women into narrowed routines and milieux, and it has done so with the consequent loss of community structure.

The members of a community of publics know each other more or less fully, because they meet in the several aspects of the total life routine. The members of a metropolitan society of masses know one another only fractionally: as the man who fixes the car, or as that girl who serves your lunch, or as the woman who takes care of your child at school during the day. Pre-judgment and stereotype flourish when people meet people only in this segmental manner. The humanist reality of others does not, cannot, come through.

There are two implications of this I would mention: (1) Just as people tend to select those mass media that confirm what they already believe and enjoy, so do they tend, by the mere fact of segregated milieux and routines, to come into touch with those whose opinions are similar to theirs. Others they tend to treat unseriously. In such a situation as the metropolitan society, they develop, in their defense, a blasé manner that reaches deeper than a manner. They do not, accordingly, experience genuine clash of viewpoint or issue. And when they do, they tend to consider it an unpleasantry. (2) They are so sunk in the routines of their milieux that they do not transcend, even in discussion, much less by action, these more or less narrow milieux. They do not gain a view of the structure of their society and of their role within it. The city is a structure composed of milieux; the people in the milieux tend to be rather detached from one another; being more or less confined to their own

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10. C. Wright Mills, "Small Business and Civic Welfare," Senate Document No. 135, 79th Congress, 2nd Session, Washington, 1946.

11. See, *e.g.*, W. H. Whyte, Jr., Is Anybody Listening? (Simon & Schuster, 1952).

rather narrow ranges, they do not understand the structure of their society. As they reach for each other, they do so by stereotype and through prejudiced images of the creatures of other milieux. Each is trapped by his confining circle; each is split from easily identifiable groups. It is for people in such narrow milieux that the mass media can create a pseudo-world beyond, and a pseudo-world within themselves as well.

Publics live in milieux, but they can transcend them—individually, by intellect and education; socially, by discussion and by public action. By reflection and debate, and by organized action, a community of publics comes to feel itself, and comes in fact to be, active at points of structural relevance. But members of a mass exist in milieux and they cannot get out of them, either by mind or by activity, except—in the extreme case—under "the organized spontaneity" of the bureaucrat on a motorcycle. We have not yet reached the extreme case, but observing metropolitan man in the mass we can surely see the psychological preparations for it.

The man in the mass is sunk into stereotyped experience, or even sunk by it; he cannot detach himself in order to observe it, much less to evaluate it. Rather than the internal discussion of reflection, he is often accompanied through his life with only a half conscious monologue. He has no projects of his own; he fulfills the routines that exist. He does not transcend whatever he is at any moment, he does not, he cannot, transcend even his daily milieux.

He takes things for granted and makes the best of them. He tries to look ahead, a year or two perhaps, or even longer if he has children or a mortgage, but he does not seriously ask, What do I want? How can I get it? A vague optimism sustains him, broken occasionally by little miseries and disappointments that are soon buried. He is smug, from the standpoint of those who think something might be the matter with the mass style of life in the metropolitan frenzy where self-making is an externally busy branch of industry. By what standards does he judge himself and his efforts? Where are the models of excellence for this man? In the mass, he tends to lose such self-confidence as he ever had, for life in such a society of masses both implants and implements insecurity and impotence.

The political structure of a democratic state assumes the public, and in its rhetoric asserts that this public is the very seat of sovereignty. But given (1) all those forces that have centralized and enlarged and made less political and more administrative the American political life; (2) given all the metropolitan segregation that is no community; (3) given the transformation of the old middle class into something which perhaps should not even be called middle class; and (4) given all the mass communications that do not truly communicate—what is happening is the decline of a set of publics that is sovereign, except in the most formal and in the most rhetorical sense. And moreover the remnants of such publics as remain in the interstices of the mass society are now being frightened out of existence. They lose their strength; they lose their will for rationality, and for rationally considered decision and action. They are alone and they are afraid.

FOUR: Tasks of the College for Adults

If even half of what I have said is true, you may well ask: what is the task of the liberal college for adults? Insofar as it is—in ideal at least—truly liberal, the first answer is: to keep us from being overwhelmed. Its first and continuing task is to help produce the disciplined and informed mind that cannot be overwhelmed. Its first and continuing task is to help develop the bold and sensible individual who cannot be overwhelmed by the burdens of modern life. The aim is nothing more and can be nothing less. And in this, the aim of the liberal school for adults is no different from that of any liberal education; but there are other answers, more specific answers.

The school for adults, after all, does start from a different juncture in the biography of the person and accordingly must deal with a different set of expectations. Knowledge and intellectual practice must be made directly relevant to the human need of the troubled person of the twentieth century, and to the social practices of the citizen. For he must see the roots of his own biases and frustrations if he is to think clearly about himself, or about anything else. And he must see the frustration of idea, of intellect, by the present organization of society, if he is to meet the tasks now confronting the intelligent citizen.

Given our interest in liberal, that is to say in liberating, education, there are two things that the college for adults can do and ought to do: (1) What the college ought to do for the individual is to turn personal troubles and concerns into social issues and rationally open problems. The aim of the college, for the individual student, is to eliminate the need in his life for the college; the task is to help him to become a self-educating man. For only that will set him free. (2) What the evening college ought to do for the community is to fight all those forces which are destroying genuine publics and creating an urban mass; or stated positively: to help build and to strengthen the self-cultivating liberal public. For only that will set them free.

These two concerns, if we take them seriously, come together in the three areas which are the focal concerns of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults: I. the content and methods of teaching; II. the development of leadership; and III. the coordination of the school with other organizations, which I shall discuss in terms of the political relevance of the college for adults.[12]

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The college of the metropolitan area is usually concerned with the training of skills that are of more or less direct use in the vocational life. This is an important task to perform, but I shall not discuss it here, for (1) it is a matter that hinges in great part for each school upon the local labor market and upon the voational interests of students; moreover (2) job advancement is not the same as self-development although the two are systematically confused.[13]

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[12] Brochure, from the Center, undated.

Very broadly speaking the function of education as it was first set up in this country was political: to make citizens more knowledgeable and better thinkers. In time, the function of education shifted from the political to the economic; to train people for better paying jobs. This was especially so with reference to the high school movement, which met the demands of the business economy for white-collar skills, at public expense. So far as the political task is concerned, in many schools, that has been reduced to the firm inculcation of nationalist loyalties and the trivialization of life known as "life-adjustment."

A liberal education, especially for adults, cannot be merely vocational,[14] but among "skills," some are more, and some are less, relevant to the liberal arts aim. I do not believe that skills and values can so easily be separated as in our search for the supposed neutrality of skills we sometimes assume. And especially not when we speak seriously of liberal education. Of course, there is a scale, with skills at one end and values at the other, but it is the middle range of this scale, which I would call sensibilities, that should interest us most.

To train someone to operate a lathe or to read and write is pretty much an education of skill; to evoke from someone an understanding of what they really want out of their life or to debate with them stoic, Christian and humanist ways of living, is pretty much a clear-cut education of values. But to assist in the birth among a group of people of those cultural and social and political and technical sensibilities which would make them genuine members of a genuinely liberal public—this is at once a training in skills and an education of values.

Alongside skill and value we ought to put sensibility, which includes them both and more besides: it includes a sort of therapy in the ancient sense of clarifying one's knowledge of one's self; it includes the imparting of all those skills of controversy, with oneself which we call thinking; and with others which we call debate.

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[13] Cf. C. Wright Mills, "Work Milieu and Social Structure," Proceedings, 1954, of Mental Health Society of Northern California.

[14] I agree with A. E. Bestor, who writes that "if the schools are doing their job, we should expect educators to point to the significant and indisputable achievement in raising the intellectual level of the nation—measured perhaps by larger per capita circulation of books and serious magazines, by definitely improved taste in movies and radio programs, by higher standards of political debate, by increased respect for freedom of speech and of thought, by marked decline in such evidences of mental retardation as the incessant reading of comic books by adults." Educational Wastelands (Univ. of Ill., 1953), p. 7.

We must begin with what concerns the student most deeply. We must proceed in such a way and with such materials as to enable him to gain increasingly rational insight into these concerns. We must try to end, with a man or a woman who can and will by themselves continue what we have begun: the end product of the liberal education, as I have said, is simply the self-cultivating man and woman.

Not the epistemology of, but the therapy resulting from, the Socratic maxim is perfectly sound, and especially so for the liberal education in the adult school. There should be much small group discussion, and at least some of the skills of the group therapist ought to be part of the equipment of the teacher.[15]

Whether he knows it or not, the man in the mass is gripped by personal troubles, and he is not able to turn them into social issues, or to see their relevance for his community nor his community's relevance for them.

The knowledgeable man in the genuine public is able to do just that; he understands that what he thinks and feels to be personal troubles are very often not only that but problems shared by others and indeed not subject to solution by any one individual but only by modifications of the structure of the groups in which he lives and sometimes the structure of the entire society.

Men in masses have troubles although they are not always aware of their true meaning and source. Men in publics confront issues, and they are aware of their terms. It is the task of the liberal institution, as of the liberally educated man, continually to translate troubles into issues and issues into the terms of their human meaning for the individual.

In the absence of deep and wide political debate that is really open and free within the framework of a metropolitan community, the adult school could and should become a hospitable framework for just such debate. Only if such procedures are built into the college for adults will that college be liberal, that is liberating, and at the same time real; encouraging people to get in touch with the realities of themselves and of their world.

As for the Center's aim concerning leadership I would say this:

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15. I do not believe in discussion for its own sake, or for its therapeutic effect alone, at least not in school. If people have not yet earned the intellectual right to an opinion they ought in a school to be made to shut up long enough to start earning the right.

II

The network of informal communication in the primary public may select and refract, it may debunk or it may sanction what is said in the formal media, or by the authorities. Everyone who talks with others is part of this network, and the ideal public is composed of people who are opinion peers in a community of such publics. But there are gradations of social and intellectual skills: it is reasonable to suppose that certain types of people may be more important than others in channeling the flow of talk and in mediating the impact of the formal media, the authoritarian assertion, the demagogic shout. Some people will be more readily and more frequently articulate. Some will carry greater weight than others. I will not call these "opinion leaders" for that term has been used in a quite different sense than I intend here.[16] I shall call them simply informal leaders. They are the people who are willing to stand up and to be counted, and who, while standing up, can say something that is listened to.

The existence of these informal leaders is one major reason why opinion is not subject to the overweening dominance of the structure of power and its mass media. For they rally those who by their informal discussions manufacture opinion. They are the radiant points, the foci of the primary public. This primary public is at times a resistor of media and of their pressure upon the individual. If there is any socially organized intelligence that is free to answer back, and to give support to those who might answer back, it must somehow be this primary public. Now insofar as such circles exist, the effective strength of any formal medium lies in its acceptance by these informal circles and their unofficial leaders. And the same is true of liberal education.

The job of the college for adults, I should think, would be to try to get into touch with such informal leaders. For it is around them that real publics could develop. If they could be encouraged to look upon the adult college as a place in which to experience an expansion of their own social skills and public sensibilities they would, I am sure, become prime referral agencies; they could become your liaison with the various publics of your community. With them and through them you could strengthen and help animate such publics, and then you could set free in many of its members the process of self-education.

To bring such people out, to help develop them into a community, you must surround your students with models of straightforward conduct, clarified character, and open reasonableness, for I believe it is in the hope of seeing such models that many serious people go to lectures rather than more conveniently reading books. If there are not such men and women on your faculties, you will not attract those who are potential rallying points for the genuine liberal public. In the end, all talk of liberal education, of personnel and curriculum and programming and the rest of it, is nonsense if you do not have such men and women on your faculties. For in the end, liberal education is the result of the liberating and self-sustaining touch of such people.

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[16] Paul Lazarsfeld, et. al., The People's Choice.

And their existence in a community as a creative minority is, in the end, the only force that might prevail against the ascendancy of the mass society, and all the men and apparatus that make for it. For in the end, it is around them and through them that liberated and liberating publics come to articulate form and democratic action.

III

I have not yet discussed the relation of the school with other organizations in the metropolitan community, the third point of importance to the Center. It is a complicated issue that I cannot adequately cover in the time available. Let me say only that I doubt that education, for adults or for adolescents, is the strategic factor in the building of a democratic polity. I think it is in the picture and must be, but given its present personnel and administration, and its generally powerless position among other politically relevant organizations, it cannot and will not get the job done. Only if it were to become the framework within which more general movements that were under way—movements with more direct political relevance—were going on, only then would it have the chance to take the place in American political life that it ought to. Only then could it in fact do fully what I have suggested it ought nevertheless try now to do. For men and women cannot develop and use their highest potentiality in and through educational institutions: they can do that only within and through all of their institutions. And educational work cannot be the sole preparation for such a humane and political life; it can only be part of it, helping it, to be sure, once it is part of the general movement of American civilization.

In the meantime, in the absence of such movements, we cannot dodge the fact that to the extent that the adult college is effective, it is going to be political; its students are going to try to influence decisions of power.

If there were parties or movements that were related to ideas and within which ideas of social life were truly debated and connected with real personal troubles; and if these movements had a chance to win or to influence power—then there might be less public need of colleges for adults. Or if they did exist, it would be within these movements.

But in the absence of such moving publics, these schools ought to become the framework within which such publics exist, at least in their inchoate beginnings, and by which their discussions are fed and sustained. But to do so, they are going to have to get into trouble. For publics that really want to know the realities of their community and nation and world are, by that determining fact, politically radical. Politics as we know it today often rest upon myths and lies and crackpot notions; and many policies, debated and undebated, assume inadequate and misleading definitions of reality. When such myth and hokum prevail, those who are out to find the truth are bound to be upsetting. This is the role of mind, of intellect, of reason, of ideas: to define reality adequately and in a publicly relevant way. The role of education, especially of education for adults, is to build and sustain publics that will "go for," and develop, and live with, and act upon, adequate definitions of reality.

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NOTES

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ESSAYS on education for adults

New Directions for University

Adult Education: Institution-centered

FACULTY ORGANIZATION
at RUTGERS

G. STUART DEMAREST

THE BASIC PROGRAM
at CHICAGO

GALWAY KINNELL

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4819 Greenwood Avenue · Chicago 15, Illinois

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THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Publications of the Center are listed on the back covers, with information as to how they may be obtained.

Faculty Organization at Rutgers

G. Stuart Demarest

CHAIRMAN, DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, RUTGERS UNIVERSITY

The Basic Program at Chicago

Galway Kinnell

DIRECTOR, LIBERAL ARTS PROGRAM
UNIVERSITY COLLEGE, THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

One of a Series on New Directions for
University Adult Education

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
1955

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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INTRODUCTION

An important function of the Center is to serve as a broker for ideas—spotting institutions and persons with unusual programs and ideas, and passing them along to those who may also be interested in exploring new ways to make the university a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults.

This volume is the first of at least three to be devoted to the general theme: New Directions for University Adult Education. This first volume presents two essays about new directions occurring within the university. Mr. Demarest's paper points out a possible new direction for faculty organization, Mr. Kinnell's for curriculum development. Previously the Center published A School for Optimists, an essay by Mr. McGhee which states the philosophic bases for New York University's program of general adult education.

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"New directions" which project the university's interest into the community will compose Volume II, while a third volume will deal with the speculative—ideas still in conceptual or theoretical stages. As further discoveries are made of new programs and imaginative ideas, the series may be expanded.

The Center does not necessarily endorse the programs and viewpoints presented in these publications. But it is felt that they are important, and that by publishing descriptions of them the Center not only will be helping further to build a significant literature on adult education, but perhaps will also stimulate others to pioneer thinking and planning.

John B. Schwertman, Director
The Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

Chicago, Illinois
February 28, 1955

THE EVENING COLLEGE AT RUTGERS

G. Stuart Demarest
Professor of English, Rutgers University

The aim of this paper is to show the advantages of a complete, full-time evening college faculty and staff concerned exclusively with the education of adults as it is now operating in University College of Rutgers University, and to consider how such a plan fits into the present state of university adult education.

It is not my purpose to cite Rutgers as a paragon of evening colleges. The point to be made is that it has created its own plan, that the plan has been designed for mature students on a college level, that it is conducted by an equal but entirely separate college faculty within a large university, and that it has achieved a significant amount of respect for educational effectiveness over a number of years.

University College did not spring full-blown into existence. At a very early period it did exist in many main essentials in the mind of its first dean, Norman C. Miller. From its start in 1935, it evolved quite naturally from the collision of two rather subtly creative forces: a dean's talent for permitting himself to be pushed the way he wanted to go, and the will of a student body surprisingly inclined to push toward an "academic" brand of education. Both of these powerful, patient, independent sources coincided in a desire to arrive at the same place, though by far different routes and for far different reasons.

To understand these forces fully, it is necessary to go back even further, to the start of Rutgers' modern era of adult education in the late 1920's, when mere survival called more for enterprise than for education. This was the period of trial extension. Classes were frankly in industrial techniques and were conducted either in city centers or in shops, railroad cars, and rented quarters. Courses had little to do with college education, much to do with simple learning habits and elementary rules and facts.

From the corps of organizers assembled for this work grew the office for administering the next stage: credit courses and certificates for businessmen. This more ambitious program was conducted under a director of university extension, and the teachers were university instructors or part-time lecturers. The two full-time academic people in the division justified their existence by performing numerous administrative tasks.

In 1935, with the decision to offer a Bachelor of Business Administration degree, came University College, separate and independent—and carefully watched for "academic standards" by an advisory board from the faculties of other colleges in the University. In 1940 Director Miller became a dean, and the business degree program passed through a couple of years of mounting prosperity. Then came World War II, and in September of 1942 when classes opened, University College was an unrecognizable ghost of its former self.

In the war years that followed there was time for rethinking old programs and planning new ones, and the conviction grew that the education needed, and often sought, by adults was not always the strictly practical kind, but that even for men and women in practical walks of life, there was more to living than working. The outright usefulness of the liberal arts began to become apparent in a time when men were thrown back on the ultimate resources of spiritual stamina. The students indicated in many ways that they had known this value all along. Perhaps many of them had. Out of that sifting and searching time came an entirely new era in University College education, and education for adults took a prodigious step away from the technical and into the academic. Non-credit study was separated completely from University College in one of the most significant and academically helpful steps the College ever took in its rather involved history. (All non-credit courses are now offered under an entirely separate organization, University Extension Division, which, with 3,600 students in adult classes at six centers, 2,500 in service courses, and 5,000 in institutes, is in fact the agency which conducts what is often thought of as "adult education.")

Suddenly liberal arts ideals had become important, and it was apparent that if University College were to deal with the whole life of man, it had better get people who could do it.

The administrator's merely finding courses which people would take was clearly no longer the answer. On the other hand, a day-school professor thinking about evening college life in his spare time, if at all, was not the answer either. University College administrators had grown close enough to their students to realize that a haphazard program, whether practical or academic, was only window dressing. The only sincere answer was to establish full-time departments of competent teachers.

And so when the veterans came pouring in, University College was ready, not only with an A.B. and a B.S., but with a full-scale college, complete with full-scale departments, and new curricula —a collegiate degree program for adults. This was new in adult education.

Since the founding of the departments, changes have mainly consolidated gains and redefined details in procedure. With the retirement from the deanship of Norman C. Miller in 1951, a younger man, Dean Ernest E. McMahon, has pushed forward with educational planning in the College, and the students have retained their indirect influence in their own interests. As early as 1950 there emerged from a rethinking of the new program and a reconstruction of its curriculum a statement asserting confidence in the individual, adequately informed in his natural, social, and professional worlds, past and present, and declaring University College's aim to be the development of "human effectiveness" in the ability to communicate, to discharge responsibility to self and society, to think, appreciate, and evaluate, and to continue self-education.

The Organization of the College

The chief characteristics that set off University College at Rutgers from other evening colleges are these:

1. A full-time faculty devote all their thought to University College teaching and to University College education. They are organized as a legislative faculty with both academic

and administrative committees.

2. The departmental arrangement includes full-time department heads, professors, associate professors, assistant professors, and instructors, with whom are associated a large corps of part-time instructors.
3. The administrative organization is completely independent, headed by a dean and an associate dean, with the same powers as in other colleges of the University.
4. The faculty have equal standing with those in all other colleges of the University, every member having rank on a scale, tenure privileges, and a salary rate defined by the University for its entire faculty and administration.
5. Curricula and courses are planned for University College students by the University College committees and departments and are given under University College's academic supervision and direction.
6. University College recommends its own candidates for its own degrees, which are conferred with those of other colleges at the University commencement.

With these salient points in mind, the following somewhat detailed description is intended to afford the educator interested in the college education of adults an approximate understanding of one successful evening college of 5,000 students.

As one member of the University family of Colleges, University College is directed by statute to provide college-credit education for part-time students. Responsibility for the quality of University College education on a level comparable with all other Rutgers colleges and for the efficient operation of the College is centered in the Dean, who has authority to make whatever non-academic decisions seem to him necessary. Some of the authority needed to direct and co-ordinate the College's business he delegates to the associate dean. To the faculty, through its commitees or in a body, belongs the right to make academic decisions.

Under the Dean's leadership an entire college functions with

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a full-time academic and administrative staff of 46 people (31 are strictly academic) and a part-time teaching corps of 225 (35 from other parts of the University). The main office and headquarters for this educational unit is in a separate building on the campus, from which six separate centers in the state are administered, four of them as complete colleges in themselves. Within this geographically decentralized arrangement are about 5,000 students who must satisfy minimum University entrance requirements and are enrolled in one of the 12 formal curricula for the A.B. or B.S. degree.

The Academic Departments

The whole educational force of University College is centered in the 11 departments. These form not only an academic control board, but the academic brain for the College, reaching out to the four main centers with the various curricula, courses, and teachers. The 31 full-time professors (full, associate, and assistant) and instructors, who teach 12 semester hours or less, constitute very much the sort of tightly knit, stable corps to be found in the traditional small college. They are the planning, consulting, supervising, co-ordinating, and distributing academic staff of the institution, and the part-time co-adjutant staff of 225 teachers is formed around them into 11 solid academic departmental units.

The dean has little dealing with the part-time staff of his college except through the departments, which by and large run themselves through department chairmen appointed by the president under University statutes. Thus the vast amount of business with administration, with the four centers, with other departments, and with teachers and students is the essential concern of the regular department members. Much of this is planned and worked out in department "staff meetings" and communicated, mainly at regular department meetings, to all teachers through the year.

The planning of the 12 curricula by the departments has been an evolutionary process, the result of experience and insight gradually gathered in continuous work with students. Courses are constantly changing in content, texts are being changed, new requirements introduced. By contacts with the four registrars, the particular design and purpose of both required and major courses, as well as of electives, are made known to all students pursuing a "major" program. As the student advances he is given an opportunity for further guidance in conferences with a department member. But whether he confers or not, his record is kept and watched by the department, and the registrar is directed accordingly. All such planning and consultation, which tend to banish the evening student's sense of being cast adrift on an educational sea, stem directly from the departments' responsibility and interest in their educational products.

Such close contact of full-time departments with their own evening students has a direct effect on the hiring of part-time teachers, a continuing process of some size and moment. Close association with evening students causes a department chairman to give the highest value to teaching and to search a prospective instructor beyond the data on his personnel form. With a curriculum in mind which will be meaningless unless its purpose is sensed and carried out, the chairman realizes that a course does not exist at all unless it begins in the instructor and ends in the mind of an evening student. Therefore, in the interview with a prospective instructor, the subject, the student, and the teacher meet within the scope of the chairman's experience and interest.

But despite all the foregoing precautions, a college dispersed across the state in six centers might still be a mere matter of 200 teachers confronting 5,000 students for 75 minutes twice a week, with each class a quite separate and independent institution in itself. The departments try to avert such a condition, which they greatly dread, by manifold efforts to keep all parts linked. Most departments issue at the start of each year carefully worded, thoughtfully designed guides for part-time instructors. Policies on grading, on absences, and on examinations are spelled out on the administrative side, and the underlying principles, the broad purposes, and recommended approaches for the courses themselves are explained. Throughout the year periodical or occasional messages for sudden problems or neglected observances of policies are issued.

Two meetings a year for each complete department help to establish solidarity. Some departments have gone so far as to experiment with preparatory sessions for their faculties annually, simply out of a wish to insure a common understanding of the work and its purpose. Besides the general department meeting, the chairman (or assistant) may see his instructor at the class itself, often sitting in the classroom to catch the tone and direction of the work and afterward conferring with the instructor on what he heard. In addition, at his desk at the New Brunswick office he receives and sends quantities of mail and telephone calls on progress and problems. For example, the problem of instructors being unable to meet classes because of illness has been faced, if not perfectly solved, by early notification, which has made possible a system of substitutes, even involving the chairman. Many instructors, finding there is an interested ear for their personal difficulties and achievements, have a way of composing rather full reports, thus improving the general awareness of the department and gaining direction for themselves. But welding an assembled staff into a teaching unity can only mean continual meeting, writing, and visiting.

Without some cross-connections these quasi-autonomous departments might well pursue their solitary ways with a sublime unconcern for the departments across the fence, and so the department chairmen meet informally once a month, with no purpose but to compare notes and argue their views and plans. Recently this unofficial department chairmen's meeting was recognized by the Dean as a sort of cabinet. Nothing definite is ever accomplished, according to the boast of the chairmen themselves, and no conclusions or decisions are expected. But a great many problems have become understood, if not solved. In the long run the idea of University College overflows departmental boundaries and enters into the thought and planning of every department. Out of this comes a kind of unity by common purpose and exchange.

The Part-time Faculty

The problem of the selection of part-time teachers for experience, intelligence, and character is a major one in controlling the single greatest thread in the loosely but firmly knit college. As anyone in an evening college knows, the assembly of this part-time faculty is not an occasional interest but an annual operation of some magnitude. At University College it falls squarely on the department chairmen with all its implications for the educational effectiveness of his college. Every year a chairman faces the question of how to place in every classroom in every center the best minds with the best abilities suited to carry their subject to University College's students. Shall he choose from veterans in the philosophies and methods of University College, or from new applicants whose qualifications may range from only a desire for diversion to a national reputation as authorities or teachers? Will he gain his end best with a candidate in the last stages of a Ph.D. or with a professor at a daytime college? Or will he get it in a non-academic expert who is loaded with a lifetime of knowledge and has varying degrees of ability to release it in a classroom? Shall it be a Rutgers teacher or some equally good man from one of the nearby equally notable universities? And finally there are the old questions of the talented high-school teacher vs. the adequate professor, man vs. woman.

Such problems are faced each spring at University College by those who may best judge for the student's interest, the department chairmen. A teacher is hired or retained because he can cause educational results in students. Departments, now with many years of experience, have learned to prefer certain qualities above others, whenever they can detect them. For one thing, they have leaned toward the Ph.D. for its assurance of subject matter. For another, they have matched the professional teacher and the non-academic expert to the course, while still keeping uppermost in mind that all courses are in a liberal arts college. In general, high school teachers, unless exceptionally gifted, are not engaged, and women teachers are retained in any number only for English courses. The handling of the Rutgers vs. non-Rutgers teacher question has been resolved by limiting Rutgers teachers to one course. Although in many specialized or advanced courses, the departments call in numbers of outstanding people from their own University, a sharp eye is kept on the translation of traditional undergraduate techniques to the education of adult evening students. The evening departments tend to circumvent the risk of divided interests.

Financial Problems

Like any college, University College must feel the grip of its University's financial necessity. University College is not a revenue-producing but an educational unit, with its budget established and operated like the budget of all other colleges. All costs are paid out of funds allotted by the University; all income goes directly to the University. Although University College pretty largely determines its own expenditures within its budget, exceptional expenses for travel, repairs, or improvements may be challenged; but it stands in control of its own internal finances, and individual classes may be conducted because they are educationally desirable rather than economically profitable. Altogether the system has had many advantages.

After agreement on a budget, the University College bursar, with an assistant bursar, is responsible for control of the allotted funds. On occasion, though, departments have been placed on their own budgets with apparently positive results. In this way the academic side of the College was given sway over economic expediency without impairment of financial health, and the essential importance of the departments in the College was reiterated.

The registrar's offices at the four centers, with administrative and clerical staffs, are ordinarily thought of as concerned primarily with income and records. Yet they must also function as educational advisers. On their close connnection with academic departments and student body depends much of the educational effectiveness of the College. The registrar's staff at each center must register twice each year an entire student body in from two to ten curricula, in two to four certificate programs or in special programs, placing every student on the best avenue of study, in the most suitable courses, and at the proper point in his advancing program of study. Since action on records alone can lead only to impersonal policies on a mass basis, the registrars have leaned heavily on the departments for direction on individual programs.

The planning of the departments may often affect student scheduling only through the registrars, and an informal practice of mutual consultation has thus sprung up to govern the guidance of students. The records maintained by the departments and the close contact with both registrar and student have served as a further safeguard to sound programs. In addition the department members lend a hand at the registration process, not only to deliver the College from semi-annual madness, but as part of their own interest in student-majors. In this way every student is able to have at least one personal interview in each semester, while the registrar's staff is kept closely informed and guided. As complicated as this administrative diversity may be, still further complicated by distance, it has been kept centralized under the dean and associate dean and the bursar, with the departments and their committees exercising control with the help of the registrars over the academic life of the College.

The ideal of college-level work, permitting the ready transfer of evening students into day colleges, has required the supporting of evening study with several special service offices for co-ordination and distribution to supply the teacher in his class room with texts, examinations, announcements, reading lists, projectors, record players, and sundry other aids and materials which have been carefully prepared or thoughtfully selected by an academic staff concerned primarily with education. A book-order office, an audio-visual aids office, and a public relations office are relied upon by the departments to simplify their work.

Integration With the University

The coherence of the total educational team has been one of the most important and most highly valued features of University College life. Any university has a need for system and co-ordination and has requirements of uniformity. University College meets these requirements in several ways, though in most ways administrative machinery has been kept subordinate to academic life. Throughout the week, 77 people, including the clerical staff, meet and work together with the one purpose of maintaining and improving college education for young adults in New Jersey. The casual contacts and sense of comradeship developed in crossing paths about a single building have helped to nourish a common esprit which finds its way into specific actions. But this is at best casual, for unity of spirit is not always unity in fact.

The University College professor, who identifies himself pretty closely with his own department, also is constantly obliged to work and think in larger spheres. Out of the faculty—and into it—a great deal of business with committee flows. Here the department member must abandon his departmental role and set his special interests aside. Most committee men have shown a surprising readiness for conscientious thought on the welfare of University College as a whole. In the crucial and difficult Curriculum Committee work, members are regularly called upon to plan and even argue against their own department's courses. In the two extremely important personnel committees, on Review and on Appointments and Promotions, the faculty member's personal interests are placed in the hands of his colleagues. The same rules and practices protect him as protect any other teacher in the University. All promotions are made under the same statutes, for the same reasons, and to the same ranks as in any other college at Rutgers. As a member of the College's faculty and one or more of its rather busy committees, he works in an organizational pattern which is repeated throughout the University.

Several times a year his own College faculty meets as a whole, in formal parliamentary session, to deliberate and finally approve or reject proposals of policy. Recently the entire faculty labored and argued the better part of a year on 14 curricula presented by the Curriculum Committee, and ended by rejecting one and changing many. New regulations governing grades, admissions, student activities, and a host of other questions growing out of the rather intensive life of a college have been introduced, examined and shaped into some sort of policy. The College faculty has thus become an anvil on which the growing ideas and movements get hammered into practicable form, and an ultimate court, this side of the University government itself, for all academic perplexities, disagreements, and innovations in Rutgers' evening college education.

But University College is contained within the framework of the entire University in many respects. For matters affecting the whole University, the college lines are erased, and the University College faculty member becomes simply a member of the Rutgers faculty concerned with his University's total government and welfare. The men and women of University College must accept their obligation to serve in the University Senate and on any of the University's numerous committees. In this way University College and its people are welded into the educational structure of the University. The University's educational and administrative policies hence reflect University College's thought as much as that of any other unit of the institution. The faculty member, conversely, feels the influence of the whole University life behind his work in his own college and department.

Entrance Requirements: Equal

The B.S. and A.B. degrees form the backbone of all University education. Students must enter University College as for a degree, even though they may study (very few do) only selected courses or enter one of the 54-credit specialized certificate programs, where the work is a planned segment of the business curriculum.

To govern the 12 different curricula, the faculty has set down the limits within which each department is free to specify, if it chooses, required courses of electives. The effect is to require all students to follow programs with certain common characteristics and governed by common principles. All of the business majors study a program leading to a B.S.—accounting, management, marketing, or business. There are majors programs in chemistry, economics, English, history, mathematics, political science, psychology, sociology, and social science leading to an A.B. The general education for both degrees is covered in part by 10 terms of specific required courses in English, history, economics, and mathematics, and in part by 10 additional terms distributed among humanities, sciences, social sciences, and (for the A.B. only) foreign language. Beyond these requirements, which amount to about 60 credits in liberal arts, the student may be required to take six terms in courses supplementary to his major subject and eight terms in the major itself. The remaining approximately nine terms, to a total of 128 credits, are free for the student's election.

Students must enter University College, as one part of Rutgers University, under the same minimum requirements as govern entrance for all colleges of the University. At University College they must have completed their high school education with the necessary courses in English, mathematics, foreign language, and other approved subjects. But here again the adult student presents special circumstances. A good adult student sometimes wants some part of college education with no thought of a college degree, for sufficient reasons of his own. To let him get it without satisfying entrance requirements is sensible enough, except that when he gets it he often discovers he wants the degree after all. Thus he would come in the back door, sidestepping entrance and all manner of important college regulations.

The faculty has decided there shall be no back door. With one exception, no student may enter University College for any purpose with more than minor deficiencies (e.g. shortage in high-school mathematics or language), and these must be made up the instant he moves for a degree. The exception permits non-graduates of high school, who are veterans or over 24 years of age, to qualify for provisional enrollment by satisfactory performance in a battery of psychological and reading tests. Those admitted may earn both university matriculation and a state high school equivalency certificate by satisfactory completion of a prescribed group of five courses, all of which carry credit toward the degree.

These requirements are known to the student when he applies, and he accepts them as part of the normal procedure in getting a college education. They help to insure that University College's work is with one clearly defined type of education, and their acceptance by large numbers of students demonstrates the general agreement on their value.

Academic Standards: Valid

Academic standards, notably in grading, has always been a critical point on which the reputation of "night school" has turned.

With University College departments taking full-time interest in students and standards, much of the haphazardness of "soft pedagogy" which creeps into "sympathetic" grading has vanished. The solution has been simply one of countering one force with another, of restoring the instructor's equilibrium by counterpoising the department's standards opposite the student's affection for easy credits. When "deserving" students are befriended with grades, education may become little more than a pastime. University College applies a principle of accommodating two academic forces—the student purpose and academic ideals.

Perhaps the most effective restorative of the instructor's academic equilibrium is an annual report from the Scholastic Standing Committee, which merely shows the range of grades by departments for elementary and advanced courses, without any suggestion of applying a curve. Since the faculty takes considerable interest in any excess of either high or low grades, chairmen consequently transmit to teachers their views on such excesses with considerable effect. If the instructor grades only under pressure from the student, the evening student forthwith shines as a superior student. If he grades, feeling pressure from the institution's standards, too, he resolves his dilemma by feeling he may as well consult his own best conception of proper college standards.

Requirement of a course plan in some departments has similarly been a helpful way of reaching ready agreement and understanding on aims and contents. The syllabus or stereotyped course outline is not favored, except in certain basic courses with multiple sections. General agreement on broad terms without artificially cramping the teacher has been achieved by requesting the instructor to set down his proposals for achieving the accepted ends of his teaching and then by working out adjustments by conferences with the chairman, so that both can be reasonably confident not only that they have understood their common purpose but that the teacher has translated that understanding into a plan of action.

In short, the secret of valid academic standards is the presence of an academic staff which from prolonged experience can

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represent University standards in an education for mature students. And the availability to a teacher of some responsible, informed and interested official staff might almost be called the most important distinguishing feature of the University College program. The instructor is not required to deal with a mere statement of principles, nor yet with some vague "spirit of adult education." Neither is he obliged, after taking his appointment from the hand of an administrator who asks only that he "teach a class," to set off to cope the best way he can with the package of students gathered for him by the prehensile arms of the registration office. He is part of a serious, thoughtful, and interested team of educators whose life work is precisely that teacher's troubles and aims with those particular students as he meets them in that obscure classroom. Much may be assumed of the independent earnestness and power of the solitary teacher in an adult classroom, or adult education would hardly exist at all. But asking him to teach in an intellectual vacuum is scarcely the way to encourage or utilize that earnestness.

The Rutgers Student

The student who must receive the effect of all this is, of course, the only acceptable determinant of its effectiveness—he and the society which he helps to form. He has a part in his own education, and who he is, how he thinks, and what he wants are quite as important in forming it as in deciding whether it will do him any good. The trick is to draw upon the educational resources of this rather experienced student while bracing them with a sound academic education. Here, of course, lies the function of the permanent college faculty, which while accommodating the one may vitalize the other.

In the experience of the faculty, University College students are generally not a special class of people seeking a narrow kind of education for particular utilitarian ends. They are genuine students with, like all students, characteristic limitations, and when they are treated educationally as students, they respond accordingly. They are students, it is true, accustomed to involvement with the active and factual end of ideas. But for this very reason, when they turn toward college education, they expect to encounter the principles which illuminate the economic, social, political, and personal affairs in which they have been implicated. They are seeking the meanings behind complexity and confusion. Expediency they know all about.

It would be unsafe, on the other hand, to conclude that they actually lose sight of such mundane interests as their incomes and their personal problems. They advance on the college from an individual's intensely practical world, and they never lose touch with their base of operations. Indeed they persistently inject it into their courses, and before they will actually receive education, they must see a place, if not a use, for it in life as they know it.

While this attitude is often a serious limitation, it is also their great strength, for it disciplines any instructor who would move their minds with a jejune preoccupation with a fact or a principle. They insist, to the perpetual vexation of teachers and the eternal enrichment of subjects, upon wedding their own knowledge of things to the generalizations of learning. Their instructors gain wisdom in proportion.

In their attachment to an education which matches experience, they naturally keep their eye unswervingly fixed on the symbol which will signify academic accomplishment. It is certification, usually in the form of a degree, which first sets a student's feet on the road to "a college education" and persuades him to accept academic guidance. But once on the road, he declines to buy credits with time. He may be led to engage in all manner of "impractical" studies and mental gymnastics, but he becomes verbally violent if he finds himself subjected to meaningless requirements on the grounds that "this is education." To him it ought reasonably be expected to "fit in" somewhere. If it does, he may work as hard on Shelley as on business law and treat the credits as bonus. If it doesn't, he has his ways.

Why this attitude of his, neither strict utilitarianism nor sterile scholarship, should make him so eager for sheer hard work is difficult to understand. Perhaps we are learning something about his true capacities in the presence of opportunity. Perhaps to University College students, assembled from urban and suburban areas, the degree itself is a magnet for the productive kind of American who combines an inclination to thought with his talent for execution. Certainly there is sufficient spread of occupation to produce all levels of intellectual responsibility, from the technician who wants to advance in ability and importance to the executive who wants to understand both himself and his surroundings in a somewhat larger than usual sense. Whatever the source, the faculty at University College are convinced that they have in their hands a kind of rugged intellect which can invest learning with a rare vigor and incisiveness.

It may be the degree, it may be intellectual interest, or it may be the whole idea of a college education for an active adult. One thing is certain: It is not the prospect of bartering five to eight years of normally interesting life for the mere pleasure of displaying the trappings of scholarship. It must simply be assumed that evening college students possess a power that can transform institutionalized time into genuine learning.

Out of this type of student, as well as for him, the departments have found that they can shape an academic experience which, by both the College's and the student's standards, may confidently be measured as a superior college education. His practical experience is a valuable discipline of the treatment of academic subject matter in liberal arts education, and his attachment to the degree is a license to preserve that subject matter in its most valuable form, without any narrowing for utility. But it is the department which provides an intellectual center to receive his influence and to shape the subject to the individual student.

The University College beginning student, usually after discussion with a friend, has been thinking more and more of a college education. If his thinking has not advanced beyond the vague notion that a college education will help him in his job, he may end in a certificate program with the thought that he will take the "academic" things later. If he has decided he "wants an education," he enters a prescribed course. About half way through his college education, whether he is a certificate student or not, he must find out how to believe in the value of knowing and thinking in matters which have no provable or measurable worth. In other words, he must sense the meaning of being a college-educated person. In the process he will have contended with any number of teachers, and only with the progress of education itself, if he has the patience, will he gain the perspective and understanding of how an idea may contain and shape practice.

But teachers who know him, sense his problems, and understand his practical training will carry him over. A scholastic standing committee, a department counselor on his major, or a registrar will have got into the process. Often his fellow students, having gone through such an intellectual evolution, will assist in the process.

At the end of six or seven years he will complete his degree. But about 75 per cent of his fellows will have dropped out or moved. Some of the movers will have gone into undergraduate residence; others will have gone to other regions. But the student ready for graduation will have had a thorough liberal arts education. He will have the broad base and the sharpened peak. And with a rather firm assurance that his college education at least equals that of his fellow students in other colleges of Rutgers, he will join them in June in cap and gown to march in academic procession in the stadium for the conferring of his degree of B.S. or A.B. by the president.

To help preserve evening college education from deteriorating into a fixed period of submission to the mere sounds of instruction, student activities in University College have been steadfastly protected and encouraged. Under very adverse conditions they have been given both financial and moral support, until there are now a fairly stable women's club, several academic clubs, an honors society, and some fraternities of rather desultory character. All student activities are promoted and governed by a faculty committee, the chairman of which becomes a sort of delegate for the University's Director of Student Life, supervising the funds from the student activities fee and awarding certificates or the highly prized student key.

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Recently, one of the student activities became so complex and active that it deserved professional assistance. The four separate student newspapers, staffed, operated, and published entirely by students with only an adviser, found that reorganizing each year meant virtually founding an entirely new paper. To eliminate merely organizational problems and still provide the fullest participation and education, the publications editor became a continuing editor to assemble the prepared and edited copy from the student staffs and publish it in a single newspaper for the whole of University College. In The Evening Collegian each center has its own section, and the faculty may likewise find a space for communications to students, all of which has served to draw student life together in a single campus of educational experience.

Out of such forces for common interest has come an active alumni body, with its own officers, its own reunions, and its own representative committee, which consults with the Dean and faculty committees of the total educational program. Moreover, this body is incorporated in the Rutgers University Alumni Federation (two University College graduates have been president) and takes its place, both collectively and individually, with other Rutgers alumni associations in enjoying alumni privileges and recognition, even to the purchase of football tickets.

Adapting the Curriculum

Some interesting things have happened in University College departments in view of their special and exclusive devotion to an evening college education. The members are, for the most part, professional college teachers, although one chairman had been a state comptroller and another a lawyer. The members' outlooks were, and still are, staunchly academic. Their aim is frankly to make University College education approach the best qualities of American colleges.

When such a purpose ran athwart an aggressive and independent student body, each side found itself being drawn in the direction of the other. What evolved was a different kind of plan, a thing of principles, forms, and practices, in which a mature and experienced student might exert a strong influence on application or practice without fundamentally altering form and principle. The full-time faculty, as guardian of educational ideals, became the controlling agent.

An "academic" brand of education can be thus adapted to a particular student body only where a faculty body exists which can feel the force of student needs and relate them to a firm philosophic base. Yet an independent faculty and staff do not in themselves constitute a college. Rather they are the shell or the occasion of a college. What is more, the mere fact that a number of department chairmen happen to be thinking eight or more hours a day about educating adult students, and have achieved something which could be called a plan does not denote the presence of a college, either. There must be a corporate mind which constantly weighs and applies and rejects among its practices in terms of its guiding principles and purposes.

As far as plan goes, which may be taken to mean the sum of all the principles and procedures set down for regular guidance, University College very much resembles a rather traditional day college. To anyone examining the catalogue, such matters as curriculum, course titles and descriptions, and grading are very much the same as in any conservative "institution of higher learning" today.

What University College has brought out of the meeting between contemporary adults and the ideals of learning is a different use of these various forms. In a word, it is in the translation of a conservative plan into practice, of an academic philosophy into teaching, of a liberal arts purpose into classroom experience that University College has found that full-time departments have made their effect felt.

In few respects, then, is University College either academically or structurally different from the more conservative type of day college. Nor is it in any serious or significant way different from its sister colleges within the University. Chiefly, it can be said, its people regard themselves as quite properly a part of the Rutgers family in plan and spirit, while taking a Rutgers form an quality of education to the part-time student. It is quite authentically a college education in the evening—a Rutgers education—and through its experience it has come to reject the superficial, the novel, and the merely functional and to stand on traditional subject matter, established purposes, and conventional forms.

This manner of thinking and working is particularly evident in the curriculum. But University College thought, as it has been conditioned by the adult student, has tended to discount the sacred sequence hypothesis of education. The faculty does not hold with those who say education must take place in an approved lineal order, that the learner must start at a fixed point and proceed along a well-marked path by yearly stages to some other point recognizable as completion, or that completion represents either a number or an order of credits. They have come to a conviction that learning, at least, may begin anywhere, if it is substantial and vital, and expand outward in many directions. Thus, while the curriculum is more or less traditional and formal, the pursuance of it by mature students is commonly individualistic, controlled by principles of learning rather than by laws of procedure or substance. Except for English composition, which must come first, only the requirements of prerequisites guide the student in determining sequence for the degree.

In practice this means even that a number of students may enter, after satisfying most of the entrance requirements, through one of the 54-credit business certificate courses. The courses required (there are only about six credits of electives in each) are mainly the courses selected from the majors in the corresponding degree curriculum, backed up by supporting courses of a "practical" value like economics or business law. A student moves, then, from the certificate to complete his degree in a reversal of the normal order. Thus, while the student's educational program is still contained within a formal program, he may turn it upside down so that the point of entry is the one closest to his experience and interest. He may terminate with the certificate or he may go on.

It might be noted that upside-down sequence has been found to have a number of educationally significant features, to be indeed an entirely defensible practice for the adult student on the grounds of increased benefits from later study of history, literature, philosophy, economics, sociology, and so forth, when they serve to place special interests in broader contexts. Thus the concept of college education involves, not a logical beginning, middle, and end, but a center and a perimeter, with the one depending on the other. Such a view serves to place the weight on the quality of the education rather than on a pattern.

Always in the faculty's thinking, University College courses are those designed to produce an educated man—a college-educated man, with broad base and specialized point. When pressed to define what he means by "college-educated," the faculty member will talk about depth and thoroughness of the intellectual experience, usually tracing it to the substance of the individual courses. In following a policy of carefully separated courses, he feels that whereas educational experience is largely indivisible in itself, to the student it must start with something substantial and orderly. Artificially dividing or compartmenting these experiences, he tends to believe, may have little narrowing or distorting effect so long as the experience within the bounds of each is not without body and significance. The artificial classification of courses as general or specialized (i.e., major) should provide a difference in intensity and content, not in actual significance of fundamental purpose. It is the broad significance that he has his eye on.

Significance, for the most part, he traces to the presence of realized principles and ideas. The nature of a college education is not the acquisition of knowledge alone, he believes, though it may be basically that. Neither is it stimulation alone, with techniques and content to that end. No more is it the encountering or noting of ideas alone. To him it is the discovery and realization of ideas in the mass of experience and fact, and from that springs stimulation as well as judgment and knowledge. From that comes the college education and on that principle the curriculum receives its application.

Conversely, any courses not holding their weight with such a concept of college education are scrupulously to be kept out of the college picture. Valuable, stimulating, and useful as they may be, they are not given by University College but by the separate University Extension Division. Thus the fences are erected, and thus University College is preserved for the development and enrichment of the mind. And thus the standards achieve clarity and definition.

This carries us to a final principle for the understanding of University College education: That a vocational purpose in the student affords a sound approach to the significance in a liberal education. There is commonly thought to be a pretty rarefied atmosphere among the academic peaks, congenial to only a very few intellectual aristocrats. Yet the sincere adult student has no aversion to scaling the loftiest kind of peaks himself, if he has a reason. What is more, he can think in this atmosphere, he can work in it, and he can make himself rather effectively at home in it, so long as he sees some pertinent meaning. He does not require that every article of study shall end in his job. But he does expect that, since liberal education is education in the largest sense, it shall enable a man to live with satisfaction and effect in a serviceable work. The fact that he has already launched that work, has already realized some experience from it, and has at least sensed the vastness of its educational needs, should confer on him some special advantage in reaching the upper altitudes.

Thus he has no intention of wandering aimlessly through the fields of abstract learning for the good of his soul and the mere pleasure of wandering. He moves through his courses, once having left off any narrow utilitarianism, with a purposefulness which matches living to learning and tests them both ways. Far from being an inferior student, therefore, he has sensed, as do the best students always, the living meaning of education; and he exerts himself to the extent of his intellectual powers to tie education to life.

This conception of a mature individual has become a principle which guides and informs all the work of University College educators. But it is not one which the educators themselves created.

It was thrust on them by mature Americans when the opportunities in an education (which was as much their creation as the educators') called forth the special intellectual qualities in the evening student. In it was an intellectual force potentially as great as any in the college itself. It is this force which may eventually be the factor which will bring vigor and permanence to all of adult education.

The extent to which wisdom, patience, and skill can search out the elusive character of the mature American's intellect and match it with education of equal vitality will be the extent to which adult education will assert its indisputable worth, for the eventual strengthening of American society in general and the refreshment of American education in particular. This much vision, at least, has the experience of studying with American adults produced in the thinking of University College.

THE BASIC PROGRAM
of
LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

Galway Kinnell
Director, Liberal Arts Program
University College, The University of Chicago

The Basic Program, offered by University College of the University of Chicago, is an intensive four-year program meeting six hours a week, in the evening or the daytime. The tuition is $50 per 12-week quarter for the regular program, and $25 for a less intensive schedule of three hours a week. There are no formal admission requirements. No examinations are given, and no grades other than pass or fail. The student earns college credit, however, and upon graduation is awarded The Certificate in the Liberal Arts. The Program was begun in 1946.

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Liberal education is peculiarly appropriate to the education of adults. Many undergraduate colleges which regard liberal education as their chief function are nevertheless so engrossed with vocational and special preparation that liberal studies receive sparse attention. Adults, however, do not share the urgent undergraduate need for vocational training. Most of them are already proficient in the activity by which they earn their livelihood. In some sense most of them are experts, and the problem for them is not primarily one of earning a living, but chiefly that of improving the quality of their lives. There is considerable dispute about the kind of balance to be sought between liberal and special studies in colleges, but there need be no debate with respect to the place of the liberal in adult education. The urgent need of adults is for the knowledge which will help them to deal wisely with personal problems and social issues, and to realize themselves as individual human beings. It is to this need that liberal education is addressed, and the provision of liberal education can be said to be the chief function of the adult education division of a university.

What is a general, liberal education? If it is to be truly general, then there is a sense in which it includes all knowledge. Conventionally and reasonably, knowledge has been divided into three areas: the natural sciences, the social sciences, and the humanities. Presuming here that this division is exhaustive, one can ask what it is about these three areas that the liberally educated person knows.

Such a person is able to judge the beauty of a work of art, the credibility of the results of scientific research, and the desirability of social and political institutions. Obviously he cannot be an expert in all these fields; yet it is unwise to leave the judging of these matters in the hands of those who are experts. His education, without making him an expert, trains him in judging the work of experts. For this purpose it is not sufficient that he master the first stages of those educations by which men can become experts, nor is it sufficient for him merely to assimilate the main ideas and conclusions of the various fields through generalized surveys. This is because liberal education is a special kind of education, as distinct from the accumulation of general information as it is from training for expertness. Its central concern is the interpreting of the work of experts and the making of judgments respecting them.

In the humanities the liberally educated person is able to appreciate, analyze, and criticize works of art, art in the broadest sense. He has an acquaintance with many differing works, an understanding of the relation of their parts, and a knowledge of various critical principles and of the ways of applying them.

The liberally educated person understands the characteristics of a scientific problem, the methods by which these problems may be investigated, and the principles upon which scientists have based their treatments of representative scientific problems. Although he is not himself competent to engage in original scientific inquiry he is able to assess the validity and limits of what others have done.

In a sense which is not true of the humanities or the natural sciences, the liberally educated person is himself a practitioner of the social sciences. Not only does he judge the work of professional social thinkers, but he also participates in the actions and institutions which are the subject matters of social thought. Since the success of a democratic society depends on the political wisdom of its members, the citizen must himself be a social scientist, and understand the principles upon which his democratic institutions are founded. The liberally educated person is familiar with his institutions, and understands various principles and methods of inquiry respecting them.

Liberal education should maintain the distinctions and connections among the three areas. Failure to do so may result in a partial or distorted kind of education. For example, it may produce a program in which works of literature are studied only to illustrate the cultures which produced them or the social philosophies which they express. Such a study might be good in itself, but the education of which it is a part is not liberal unless it also treats works of art independently of their social significance. Or, treating works of art in a manner akin to the natural sciences, one might be concerned exclusively with the truth or falsity of the "moral," the "premises," or the psychological revelations it contains. A similar distortion might occur by considering the social sciences as a branch of the natural sciences, so that the field is narrowed to those small areas in which an approximation of the precision of the natural sciences is possible. Contrariwise, the natural sciences might be studied mainly as cause, or effect, of social conditions.

For the sake of the wholeness of liberal education and the accurate study of the disciplines within it, it is important to establish the distinctions. Once established, however, there is no reason why the results of one science may not be studied by the methods and viewpoint of another. This exchange of viewpoint may be extremely fruitful. Furthermore, a whole understanding of certain things can be reached only when they are studied from the viewpoints of all three; thus a bridge may be examined from the point of view of its usefulness, its strength, and its beauty. Consciousness of the distinctions is a condition for this interchange.

Although this sketch of the outlines of liberal education has been made with little reference to the discernible changes in behavior that education is thought to produce in the student, this does not mean that no such changes are expected or desired. On the contrary, liberal education has an immense effect on the behavior of the student, illuminating and informing countless aspects of his life, including the vocational. Yet it would be improper, beginning with a list of the changes desired, to devise courses specifically intended to produce them. It is our experience that the consequences following from liberal education are so diversified and pervasive that they cannot be predicted or in many cases even isolated.

The tendency of much adult education in this country, however, has been in the other direction. It has been to design courses to produce specific practical results (better citizenship, for example, or personal adjustment). Our experience leads us to believe that not only does liberal education often accomplish these results more successfully, but that it also produces equally valuable results in other, unpredictable areas. In addition, of course, there are the richer and immeasurable rewards of mind and spirit which liberal education uniquely contributes.

A curriculum of liberal education could be organized in many ways. The staff of the Basic Program is aware that ours is not the best way possible; otherwise we would not spend our summers reexamining and improving it. Yet we know that, in basic outline, it is a good program, and believe that a description of it may be useful. Adult educators considering an intensive liberal arts program in their own locations may find in it a pattern to be varied or imitated, or at least a provocative, if alien, formulation.

2

The amount of class time we have settled on for the Basic Program is six hours a week, nine months of the year, for four years. This represents an arbitrary judgment, but nothing in our experience suggest that it is an unreasonable one. Within these time limits the curriculum is organized.

The division of knowledge into three parts suggests a similar division should be made in the curriculum. We therefore have small classes, called "tutorial," corresponding to the three parts. We have introduced also a fourth, inter-disciplinary class, called the Seminar. Outside preparation for the Humanities Tutorial, the Social Science Tutorial, and the Natural Science Tutorial, is relatively light. Major outside reading is required for the Seminar. The sequence and time allotted to each of the four classes is shown by this typical schedule:*

Monday	6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Seminar
	8:15 p.m. - 9:45 p.m.	Humanities Tutorial
Thursday	6:30 p.m. - 8:00 p.m.	Seminar (Social Science Tutorial**)
	8:15 p.m. - 9:45 p.m.	Natural Science Tutorial

In addition, a formal lecture is scheduled on Friday evenings once a month. A detailed description of each class follows:

Humanities Tutorial

This class, consisting of approximately eight students and one instructor, is concerned with "humanistic" analysis and criticism. This class considers a piece of writing as a created object, a work of man, constructed according to certain intelligible principles and having something specific and ascertainable to say.

In each year of the Humanities Tutorial the first two quarters are devoted to the development of contrasting critical standards. In each of these quarters the class subjects a critical text to careful scrutiny, generally through a line-by-line and paragraph-by-paragraph analysis. The student extracts from the text its principles of criticism, acquiring habits of exact reading as he does so. The third quarter of the year applies these critical principles to primary works.

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* Other schedules would depend on the time of day the student attends class. The early-morning section, for example, meets from 7:00 to 8:30 A.M. four mornings a week, while the daytime section meets from 10:30 A.M. to 2:15 P.M. two days a week. In each case the six hours of class is divided into four hour-and-a-half sessions, two Tutorials and two Seminars per week. A student in the once-a-week section would meet on Tuesday or Wednesday evening for a Seminar and a Humanities Tutorial, omitting the Natural Science and Social Science Tutorials altogether.

** The Social Science Tutorial, consisting of individual conferences in a separate room, operates concurrently with the Seminar. The student leaves the Seminar at his scheduled conference time, and returns when his conference is over.

Because of the limits of time, we cannot treat constructions in all the media or even all the kinds of constructions within any one. Something must be left out if thoroughness in even one area is to be achieved. The judgment of our staff is to omit music and the visual arts and to treat exclusively the constructions in the medium of words. We hope eventually to devise a means of introducing the study of another media without destroying the effectiveness of our present work, but so far we have not been successful.

In the study of verbal "objects" the general method of the humanistic analysis is the examination of the parts in relation to the meaning of the whole and the study of the grammar as a function of this meaning. But within that general method there is a variety of ways of examining a text. According to our method of differentiation, the four ways are the poetic, the rhetorical, the historical, and the philosophic. The form and beauty of the work is the concern of the poetic analysis; its use of the available means of persuasion, of the rhetorical; its treatment of events and their causal connection, of the historical; the character and function of its basic assumptions, of the philosophic. The four years of the Humanities Tutorial are respectively devoted to these four way of interpreting literary texts.

Since books are seldom written according to our methods of classifying them this organization of the Humanities Tutorial should not be regarded as a subject-matter division. Some texts may be treated in several ways with equal appropriateness, and there will be value in treating any book in all four ways. In most cases, however, the peculiar excellences of a book can be perceived best by means of one of these ways of interpretation. In the third quarter of each year, therefore, the primary work is one which can be interpreted most fruitfully by the kind of analysis studied in that year. In the case of the philosophic analysis, it should be noted, the distinction between critical and primary disappears. This reading schedule for the Humanities Tutorial shows the division by years and the particular texts employed:

PLATE I. The Humanities Tutorial

	Autumn	Winter	Spring
First Year (poetic)	Hume, On the Standard of Taste	Aristotle, Poetics	Lyric poems
Second Year (rhetorical)	Plato, Phaedrus	Aristotle, Rhetoric, Book I	Speeches
Third Year (historical)	Bradley, Notes on Presuppositions of a Critical History	Adams, The Educa- of Henry Adams, Chapters 33 - 34	Selections from Gibbon, The Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire
Fourth Year (philosophical)	Plato, Republic, VI, 506 - VII, 541	Aristotle, Physics, II, 1,2; Metaphysics, II, VI, 1, XI, 7, XII, 1, XIII, 1-3	Dewey, By Nature and by Art

The Humanities Tutorial meets an hour and a half a week for the four years of the Program. Often short sections of the text are assigned for outside reading, but even when this is the case the text is re-read in class as the analysis proceeds.

Natural Science Tutorial

In this class of about ten persons, the intent is to understand the methods and principles of the natural sciences and mathematics. In our curriculum the natural sciences are distinguished from other disciplines by their purpose, subject matter, and methods, rather than by subject matter alone or by method alone. Hence our concern is not with any single formulation called the Scientific Method or with the techniques of laboratory experiment, but rather with patterns of methods appropriate to the kinds of problems characteristic of the natural sciences.

The student is presented with a series of reports of inquiries written by the scientists themselves. He is asked to differentiate the methods of each and to judge the results in relation to the conception of the problem and to the method employed. It is not sufficient to accept the characterization of a scientist's method given by a textbook writer; instead the student looks at original works displaying a wide range of methods and concerned with widely different problems. This procedure strengthens the understanding of particular concepts by showing the methods by which they were reached, stresses the possibility of error and provides some basis for discerning it, and allows the student to see the range of validity and application which the results of scientific inquiry can have.

To insure that the student encounters widely differing methods and problems we use contrasting reports on topics in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology, and psychology. The chart below shows the papers chosen and the order in which they are read. In addition, The Evolution of Physics, by Einstein and Infeld, assigned as summer reading, is discussed in the first two meetings of the second year Science Tutorial.

PLATE II: The Natural Science Tutorial

	Autumn	Winter	Spring
First Year (physics)	Selections from the writings of Eratosthenes, Galileo, Pascal, Lavoisier, Dalton, Huygens, Newton, Rumford, and Davy, and three contemporary essays on a geological problem.*		
Second Year (chemistry)	Lavoisier, Elements of Chemistry, Bk. I	Papers on atomic weights by Dalton, Gay-Lussac, Avogadro, and Cannizzaro	
Third Year (biology)	Aristotle, Physics, II, 8 Darwin, Origin of Species, Chaps. I & 4	Mendel, Experiments in Plant Hybridization	Selections from Berkeley, New Theory of Vision, and Koffka, Gestalt Theory of Perception
Fourth Year (mathematics)	Euclid, Elements of Geometry, Bk. I	Lobachevsky, Theory of Parallels	Arton, Theory of Braids

* These selections are contained in Scientists at Work, a reading and discussion guide prepared by Aaron Sayvetz of the University of Chicago for the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

The repetition of experiments already known to be valid gives a false impression of experimentation. Time and facilities are lacking, however, for truly experimental and independent inquiry on the part of the student. As an alternative, we are exploring the possibility of submitting to the joint inquiry of the class some scientific problems susceptible of experimental solution with simple equipment.

The work of the Science Tutorial is not humanistic. Here the order and wholeness of the text are unimportant. The concern is with nature itself and the methods of inquiring into it, of which the paper is merely a report. Like the Humanities Tutorial, this class meets for an hour and a half a week for the four years. Outside preparation is often asked, but the passages forming the basis of the evening's discussion are read in class.

Social Science Tutorial

While we do not try to make poets or physicists of our students, there is a sense, already indicated, in which we do try to make them social scientists. The analysis of methods of inquiry is insufficient for this purpose. While the study of texts setting forth or employing principles of social scientific inquiry is highly important, the student needs also to form his own reasoned judgments respecting political, ethical, and economic problems. Class discussion of social problems can be useful, but it does not permit the student to present a sustained and organized argument. Such an argument is best presented by means of the written word. The Social Science Tutorial consists, therefore, of the writing of papers in which the student is aided by individual conferences with an instructor. In each quarter of the last three years of the Program one paper is required, nine papers in all.

Three considerations influence the kinds and sequence of papers in any year. First, most adults are out of practice. The more they feel the paper must be a magnum opus the less able they are to get anything written at all. Thus the papers should be progressively more complex, the first one making minimum demands. Second, adults can be expected to do little research. Even if research for facts were not primarily the job of the expert, it would require of our students an unreasonable amount of time. The papers we assign are rather narrow in scope and of such a nature that we can provide most of the necessary facts. Finally, it is good pedagogy to start with particular problems requiring specific decisions and then to examine them in the light of policy and principle, rather than exclusively to illustrate principles by applying them to particulars.

The three papers in any year are ordered in the following way. First, given the "facts" of a particular case, the student is to state his own opinion as to the proper decision. The function of this paper is to familiarize the student with the situation and to give him an appreciation of the difficulties involved in reaching a decision. Next he is to write a paper analyzing opposing arguments that actually were involved in deciding the case. In this second paper he differentiates the assumptions of each argument, its conception of the problem, the kinds of facts it develops, the adequacy of its reasoning, and the values to which it appeals, and on the basis of this analysis again makes his decision. In the third paper the student is asked to re-examine the same problem and arguments in the light of principles found in two major authors in the social sciences, such as Hobbes and Mill, for example, or Aristotle and Dewey. In this third paper, in which the consideration of principles is explicit, the student is also to argue his own re-examined opinion. The sequence is designed to make the student aware both of the necessity for relating principles to particulars and of the difficulties involved in doing so. Illustrative of the kinds of problems chosen are the three in use this year: the Oppenheimer hearings, the steel industry dispute of 1952, and the question of outlawing the Communist Party. Obviously these problems do not represent the range of the social sciences, but our choice is restricted by the availability of suitable reprinted material.

The Social Science Tutorial consists of two individual conferences each quarter. Conferences for day students are generally held before or after class, but for the convenience of evening students, many of whom cannot either arrive early or stay late, conferences may be held in a separate classroom during the Seminar hour The student simply leaves the Seminar when his conference time arrives, and returns when the conference is over.

The Seminar

Of the three classes described, only the Natural Science Tutorial is self-contained. The Social Science Tutorial requires a good knowledge of texts dealing with the principles of the social sciences, but it does not itself provide time for the study of such texts The Humanities Tutorial, on the other hand, is largely devoted to principles of analysis and criticism, only one-third of each year being given to the study of primary works; yet a wide familiarity with primary works is necessary if the study of critical principles is to be useful at all.

The Seminar, the class for which major outside preparation is required, makes up the deficiencies of these two classes. This class is concerned with major texts in the social sciences and with primary poetic, historical, and philosophical works. Rhetorical works are not included (except as they occur within other texts, such as in dramas or histories) since the student has daily contact with them in newspapers and from radios. It is often not possible or useful to distinguish works in the humanities from works in the social sciences; the important distinction is between methods of analyzing them. Often an historical or philosophical text, subject to a humanistic analysis, can equally be called a work in the social sciences, subject to a social scientific analysis. It is important to keep clear the kind of insights which each method of interpretation can yield. With a work dealing with politics, for example, one may consider on the one hand the methods and principles of the argument (considering also, if appropriate, the dramatic structure, the use of historical materials, and the rhetorical effectiveness) and on the other the society to which it is addressed or which produced it, its relation to earlier or later political thinkers, and the meanings with respect to any particular political situation which its analyses might have.

In the Seminar from 10 to 15 students and one instructor (though sometimes two as training for a new staff member) discuss the outside reading, which consists of novels, plays, and epic poems, and of works on politics, ethics, economics, history, and psychology. "Textbooks" are avoided in the Program on the ground that they oversimplify and distort ideas by isolation and summary, that conclusions cannot be understood apart from the arguments

PLATE III: The Seminar

Quarter	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
Autumn	1. Sophocles, Antigone 2. Plato, Apology 3. Plato, Crito 4. Thucydides, Peloponnesian War, I 5. Peloponnesian War, II 6. Aristophanes, Clouds and Lysistrata 7. Plato, Meno 8. Plato, Meno 9. Plato, Republic, I 10. Republic, II 11. Republic, III 12. Republic, IV	1. Cervantes, Don Quixote 2. Cervantes, Don Quixote 3. Homer, The Iliad, I-VIII 4. The Iliad, IX-XVI 5. The Iliad, XVII-XXIV 6. Sophocles, Oedipus Rex 7. Aristotle, Poetics 8. Aeschylus, Prometheus Bound 9. Plato, Republic, I-IV 10. Plato, Republic, V 11. Republic, VI 12. Republic, VII	1. Dostoevsky, The Brothers Karamozov 2. Brothers Karamozov 3. Plato, Symposium 4. Plato, Symposium 5. Plato, Laws, I 6. Laws, II 7. Laws, III 8. Laws, IV 9. Virgil, Aeneid, I-VI 10. Aeneid, VII-XII 11. Cicero, On Duties, I 12. On Duties, II, III	1. Tolstoy, War and Peace 2. War and Peace 3. Plato, Statesman 4. Statesman 5. Herodotus, History, I 6. History, VII 7. History, VIII, IX 8. Aristotle, Politics, I 9. Politics, II, III 10. Politics, IV 11. Politics, V 12. Politics, VI
Winter	1. Genesis 2. Matthew 3. Aristotle, Ethics, I 4. Ethics, II 5. Ethics, III 6. Ethics, IV, V 7. Aeschylus, Oresteia 8. Oresteia 9. Machiavelli, The Prince	1. Republic, VII-IX 2. Republic, X 3. Euripedes, Medea 4. Aristotle, Ethics, I-V 5. Ethics, VI 6. Ethics, VII 7. Ethics, VIII-IX 8. Ethics, X 9. Augustine, Confessions, I-IV	1. Plutarch, Lycurgus, Numa 2. Boethius, Consolation of Philosophy, I-II 3. Consolation of Philosophy, III-IV 4. St. Thomas, On Kingship 5. On Kingship 6. Dante, Inferno	1. Aristotle, Politics, VII, VIII 2. St. Thomas, Treatise on Law 3. Treatise on Law 4. Hume, Principles of Morals 5. Principles of Morals 6. Principles of Morals 7. Shakespeare, Othello

PLATE II: The Seminar (Continued)

Quarter	First Year	Second Year	Third Year	Fourth Year
Winter (Cont.)	10. The Prince 11. Shakespeare, The Tempest	10. Confessions, V-VIII 11. Rabelais, Garganua and Pantagruel, I	7. Inferno 8. Freud, Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis, I 9. Introductory Lectures, II 10. Introductory Lectures, III 11. Racine, Phedre	8. Othello 9. Kant, Metaphysic of Morals 10. Metaphysics of Morals 11. Metaphysics of Morals
Spring	1. Hobbes, Leviathan, I 2. Leviathan, I 3. Leviathan, II 4. Shakespeare, Hamlet 5. Hamlet 6. Mill, Utilitarianism 7. Utilitarianism 8. Dostoevsky, Crime and Punishment 9. Crime and Punishment 10. Dewey, Experience and Education 11. Experience and Education	1. Shakespeare, King Lear 2. King Lear 3. Locke, Second Treatise 4. Second Treatise 5. Milton, Paradise Lost, I-VI 6. Paradise Lost, VII-XII 7. Rousseau, Social Contract, I-II 8. Social Contract, III-IV 9. The Federalist, 1-10, 14-18, 23 10. Federalist, 30-31, 37-41, 47-51, 85 11. Conrad, Heart of Darkness	1. Melville, Moby Dick 2. Moby Dick 3. Spinoza, Political Tractates 4. Political Tractates 5. Kant, Metaphysic of Morals 6. Metaphysic of Morals 7. Metaphysic of Morals 8. Chaucer, Canterbury Tales 9. Canterbury Tales 10. Joyce, Portrait of the Artist as a Young Man 11. Portrait of the Artist	1. Austen, Pride and Prejudice 2. Mill, On Liberty 3. Smith, The Wealth of Nations, I, 1-9 4. The Wealth of Nations, IV, 1, 3, 8 5. Marx, Capital, VI, VII 6. Capital, XIV, XXIV, 1, XXV, 3 7. Bradley, Ethical Studies 8. Ethical Studies 9. Dewey, Public and its Problems 10. The Public and its Problems 11. The Public and its Problems

whereby they were reached, and that greatness of mind and spirit can be communicated only by the original work.

Our reading list is not, however, a list of the "greatest" books of Western civilization. They are all good books, but some authors not included, as Descartes, are probably "greater," by the standards of our time, than some, such as Cicero, who are included. The quality of the book, as our staff perceives it, is the chief selective factor, but pedagogical considerations are also operative. For example, we read relatively few metaphysical works.

In each year of the Seminar we move through a roughly chronological sequence from the Greeks to the present time. Rather than studying intensively one author or type or problem for a relatively short time, the Seminar operates on the thesis that continuing contact over an extended period is a more normal and, culmulatively, a more effective method of study. In all four years the student encounters over and over again the same types of works, works dealing with similar problems, and frequently works by the same authors. The books which seem to have the greatest surface appeal are studied early in the Program. Aristotle's Poetics, because of its importance, is read both in the Humanities Tutorial and in the Seminar, and Kant's Fundamental Principles of the Metaphysic of Morals, because of its difficulty, is included both in the third and fourth year Seminars.

The Seminar meets for an hour and a half twice a week throughout the four years of the Program.

The Lecture

These are held monthly on Friday evenings. They supplement the Program by treating either the books read in class or problems of politics and ethics illuminated by the books. Lecturers are brought in from outside the Program. We attempt to find speakers who can do a model analysis of a book or a problem and who can also illustrate the fact that a lecture can be a special art form.

Except for the formal Lecture, all classes are taught by a discussion method. In these discussions the instructor's problem is to teach, and at the same time to free the student from the need for a teacher. We assume the instructor knows more than the student about the subject at hand, and that the students are in class not merely to express themselves or to develop rhetorical skills, but primarily to learn how to achieve knowledge for themselves. The instructor does not teach a subject matter so much as he teaches methods of studying a subject matter. A quasi-Socratic type of questioning is used for this purpose.

The teacher must make the class aware that it is in the dark, if it is; then let the individuals in the class feel around in the dark; and then help the group find its way out. The instructor should not ask questions merely designed to confound the student about the meaning of the text, nor should he ask simple-answer questions the responses to which merely articulate what any average reader understands anyway. And he must not get ahead of the class by being too helpful, by asking questions which produce a solution to a problem before the problem itself has been understood by the class. The success of the discussion depends on the group's being conscious of the problem and conscious not only of the solution but also of the manner in which it was discovered.

Although questions of the value of a book or an idea underlie the discussions, they do not often form the explicit substance of them. To ask, for instance, Is this poem beautiful?, is to run grave risks. The result is likely to be that the class will resolve the question in the temporary illusion of agreement, or will transform the inquiry into a dispute in which the rhetorician has the upper hand. In any case the question should not be discussed explicitly until the class is aware of what the poem means or what it tries to do. If the consideration of value does not happen naturally in the discussion of meaning, then probably the most fruitful sequence of questions is: What does the poem mean? What are some of the standards by which a poem can be judged? and, In terms of one of these, is this poem beautiful? The practice of postponing the explicit question, Is it beautiful? (which everyone ultimately must raise for himself) does not discourage judgment; it discourages only premature judgment, group judgment, and judgment by force of rhetoric.

The students exercise more and more freedom in the discussions, especially as they become increasingly conscious of the kinds of problems to look for and the appropriate methods of solving them. In any case no two Seminars will ever be alike, even when concerned with the same book and led by the same instructor. The latter should be so familiar with the text that he has, so to speak, a map of it in his mind. He encourages the class to try out its navigational skills, but he is always present to help it move in fruitful directions. While a first and fourth year Seminar may make the same kinds of analysis of a text, the difference is in the amount of influence the instructor must exercise. With a good fourth year group, the instructor sometimes may appear to take the role of observer. In all cases, however, the teacher's role is a special and privileged one.

To be sure, there are dangers in giving an instructor this kind of position in a discussion. On the one hand he may use his privilege as a protected bastion from which to demolish the ideas stated by the students; or he may become a mere chairman present for the purpose of keeping order. In either case he has relinquished his function of teaching. On the other hand he may take his teaching function too stubbornly, and disguise a lecture under a series of simple-answer questions, or try to push a class relentlessly in a direction in which it resolutely refuses to go. There must be a balance in the teacher between a concern with subject matter and a concern for the persons in his class. For instance, he must try to get the group to encourage shy members and restrain the talkers, and he must do this without mistaking general participation and good group relations for education. This balance is what distinguishes the teacher both from the "group-leader" and from the scholar.

I have often been asked how a class can be effective for all its members if some of the students have not been to high school while others hold master's degrees or even doctorates. My answer is that this diversity of background is such a challenge to the abilities of the teacher that in effect it constitutes one of the strengths of the

Program. The instructor must not allow the class to be superficially elementary—and thus boring to the learned—or to be narrowly specialized—which would confound the unlearned. He can overcome the differences in background only by making the discussion richly complex and at the same time accessible to general intelligence. The divergence in background forces the class to move in a liberal direction on a high level of inquiry.

4

It might appear that curriculum and method are so systematized that they restrict the genius of the individual teacher and dampen his initiative and enthusiasm. That would be a telling criticism of the Basic Program, for nothing is so important to the well-being of a class as the independent intelligence of the teacher. If doctrinaire views of curriculum and method of teaching destroy this vital independence, it would be better to return to the laissez-faire of the usual classroom.

We must admit at once that if a man does not respect our system of curriculum and method of teaching, he is not hired into the Program. The system, a product of the accumulated experience of many successful teachers, represents a body of knowledge about liberal education and its presentation to adults, and upon this the Program is founded. To be useful at all in the Program, a teacher must be in fundamental agreement with this system. But we do not suppose the system to be the final doctrine about teaching and curriculum, and if it is to remain a living system it needs to be altered and improved continually by the men who believe in it. A teacher who follows the system to the dead letter has as little right to be on the staff as the man who has no use for it at all. A good teacher in the Basic Program works in a tension between the way, by the system, he is supposed to teach, and the way, by his nature, he must teach. This tension between the man and the Program raises the art of teaching to a degree of importance not common in the laissez-faire classroom, for it requires a constant reexamination of the system by the staff, and of the teacher by himself. The education of the student is the focus and measure of this examination.

In selecting teachers we look for men who themselves are liberally educated. It is inevitable and probably desirable that they be also specialists in one field or another, but they must understand liberal education as fundamentally different from specialized, technical, and preparatory education. Generally, but not always, these requirements mean that we must rely on young men who have not been departmentalized by long service in a traditional university. But the choice is mutual, for there is a condition of teaching in the Basic Program unattractive to the narrow specialist. Aside from the absence of tenure and of any academic rank except that of Lecturer—drawbacks for the liberal and special alike—there is the fact that the whole curriculum, prescribed for the student, is compulsory for the teacher.

Only by the intervention of a force like the "invisible hand" of Adam Smith, or by the possession of exceptional individual gifts, can generally educated students emerge from a group of courses taught by men who are not generally educated themselves. This is the difficulty with those plans of general education which distribute the student's courses among various specialized fields, and of those inter-disciplinary courses which consist of a succession of lectures by specialists. In an effort to insure the liberal education of the student, we require that every full-time member of the Basic Program staff be prepared to teach all subjects in the curriculum. If his liberal education is weak in any area, as is almost always the case, he must try to correct the weakness.

Largely for the purpose of staff education, we meet weekly during the academic year to discuss a book scheduled for the classes of the following week. During July and part of August, when there are no classes, we meet two or three times a week to re-examine the curriculum, discuss the choice of texts, and to read and discuss the more difficult or doubtful texts. Although at times the necessity to teach all subjects results in teaching that is less than expert, the stipulation does attract men of energy and breadth into the Program, and it does act as a guarantee of the liberal direction of the classes.

5

One of the deterrents in starting a Program of this kind is the administrator's fear that very few students will enroll. Certainly the history of the Basic Program's recruitment efforts does not indicate that the job of getting a significant student body is an easy one. The graph below shows our early success, as those persons consciously looking for this Program responded, the middle-period lag when we had not yet discovered the techniques of promoting this Program, and the brightened outlook of the last three years.

Four techniques appear to be useful in recruiting students. (1) Word-of-mouth publicity by students and alumni. This invaluable help is becoming more effective as the size of the student body and the number of graduates both increase. (2) The aid of persons in advisory capacities—such as librarians and personnel managers. (3) The mailing of promotional literature. The rhetoric of our mailing pieces has moved away from the statement of the value of the program in terms of the good of society and toward a statement in terms of what the program will do to the student, in developing his skills, knowledge, and attitudes. Lists of persons to whom the literature is mailed must be selected carefully. The problem is not to convert people so much as it is to locate those already persuaded. Persons most likely to enroll probably have a strong desire to become better educated, and the job is to discover the identifiable actions by which they have expressed this desire. Mailing lists, accordingly, are procured from sources such as other adult education agencies, book clubs, and publishers of cultural and self-improvement books. (4) The full commitment of the adult education agency of which the Program is a part. Although the various parts of the agency are concerned with their particular projects, there should not be wasteful competition. To avoid this, the agency needs a hierarchical conception of its courses so that, other things being equal, the student will be counseled into the more intensive program. The counselors in other parts of University College account for a significant percentage of Basic Program enrollment.

6

The Program is rigorous for our students. Four consecu-

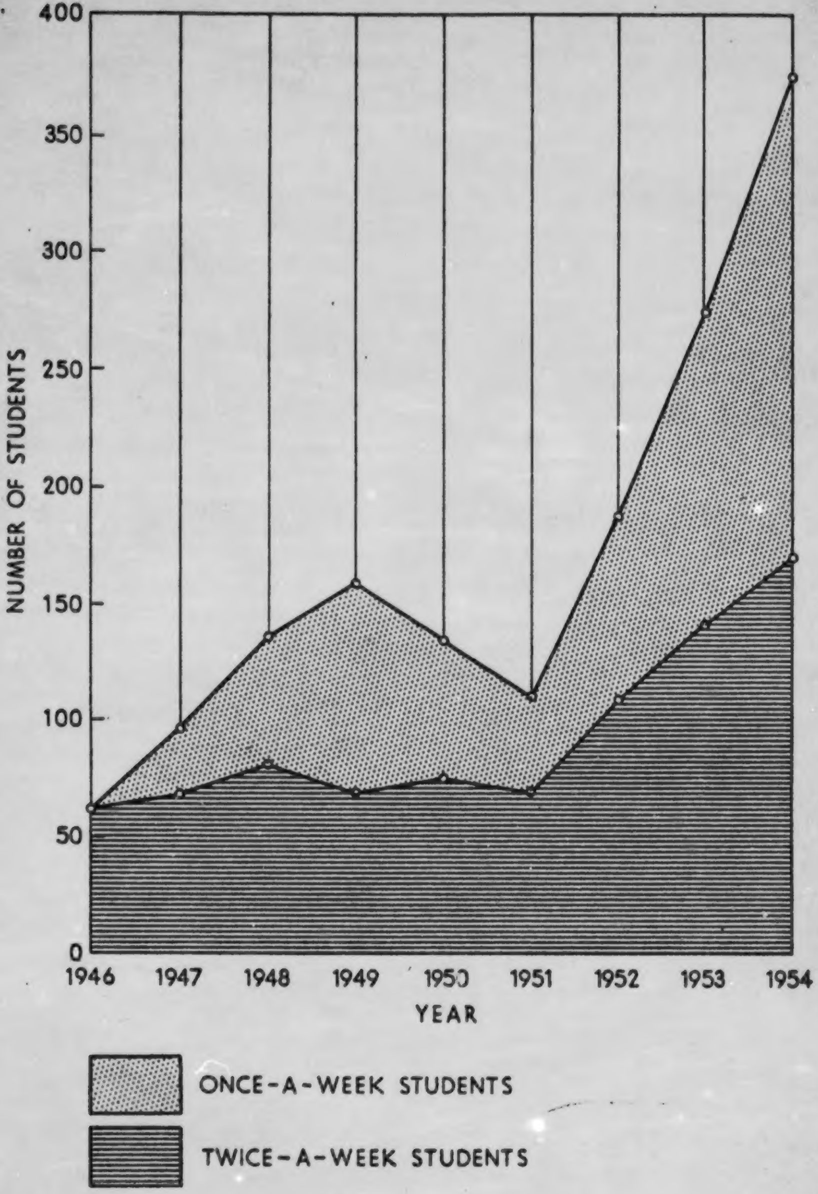

PLATE IV: ENROLLMENT

tive years of study make severe demands on time, energy, and intellect. During this time the student has to perform all the duties of urban adult life. Yet the Program offers him neither a direct vocational reward nor a college degree. The only thing that keeps him attending the course is his day-to-day (or night-to-night) interest in being educated.

This interest can be shaken easily. Troubles which would be minor in a residential, degree-granting college become key factors in the adult's decision to continue or drop out. If sickness occurs, if he is pressed for time, if class has been dull the last few sessions, if he displayed his ignorance in the last discussion, if there is extra office work to be done, or if he is simply tired—if any of these or a hundred other troubles is present, he may break the habit of coming to class. Confirming the break is far easier than re-establishing the habit. There is no real "decision" to be made, no packing or notifying parents, no change in the conditions of daily life. Besides troubles of this kind there are many circumstances which make dropping out a necessity, such as a change in jobs, loss of job, moving, babies, marriage, death in the family, illness, accident—circumstances which account for most of the drop-outs in the last three years of the Program. It is clear that an inordinate number of hazards beset the adult student who undertakes a four-year, intensive curriculum.

Approximately one-fourth of the twice-weekly students complete the entire four years. In view of the hazards, this record seems to be a good one. Nevertheless our attrition rate probably can be reduced. If we ever get to the point at which we can be highly selective in accepting applicants, it is likely that the rate can be reduced considerably. In the meantime, improved counseling and greater social cohesion outside of class can help. Counseling appointments are scheduled twice a year for first-year students, once a year for the others. The Basic Program Alumni Association has become increasingly active in developing out-of-class social activities. Picnics, holiday parties, and theatre parties are regular events. The Association also organizes residential weekends in the country which are very successful. In the spring and fall, alumni, students, and staff remove from the city and gather for two days and two nights by a lake in Wisconsin or Michigan. In the serenity of these locations it is possible to reach an alternation and blending of the social and intellectual, and to develop a social cohesion which may hold the student through subsequent periods of discouragement.

7

As I suggested at the outset, every institution will frame its program in its own way. It will take into account its teachers, its traditions, its purposes, and its community. Nevertheless, there are some considerations which are applicable generally. Four occur to me.

(1) It is a mistake to think a program must be large to be effective. Although it is true that there are great national and world problems needful of intelligent solution very soon, this does not mean that only mass-programs dealing directly with these problems are useful. No equation exists such that one person soundly educated equals a hundred half-educated, but it is clear the balance is weighted in that general way.

(2) It is a mistake to treat adults as if they were basically inferior to adolescents. In some schools in which undergraduate courses are offered to adults in the evening, the complaint is made by the evening teachers that adults are less strongly motivated, lazier, more tired, and more dependent on the teacher than are undergraduates, and that in consequence the courses must be "watered down" for adult consumption. This is no place to defend the adult student by pointing out the strength of his motivations, the breadth of his experience, and the consequent profoundity of his learning. It is sufficient to say that most undergraduate courses were designed for some special, preparatory undergraduate use. In general, they are not appropriate for liberal adult education, and it would be surprising if adults were to become very enthusiastic about them.

(3) It is difficult either to overestimate or to underestimate the adult student. Whatever the estimate is, it is usually justified.

A course designed with the idea that adults are intelligent will attract intelligent adults; with the idea that they are like children, childish ones.

(4) It is sometimes argued by adult educators that to interest adults in general education, the approach must be through a vocational or "special interest" topic. The masses of men, it is said, wanting to feel the immediacy and relevance of a subject by its connection with a particular contemporary or vocational theme, are indifferent to the great classical statements. This position may be in justified reaction to some of the dry, survey-type courses in which the great texts have been used, but the suggested alternative is unnecessarily extreme. The proposal to abandon the study of the classics in favor of a more "democratic" linking of general with special education rests for one thing on the assumption that these books represent a dead weight of "culture" to be passed down from generation to generation. Naturally the teacher who makes this assumption finds it difficult to arouse interest among the members of his class.

"It's certain there is no fine thing," wrote Yeats, "but needs much labouring." The understanding of many of the best works of our civilization does require hard and careful work. But even to a person of very little previous education, despite the centuries that may lie between the writing and his reading, the books can become startlingly alive. As we turn more and more to means of communication requiring little else of us than passivity, the university has an increasing obligation to hold on to good books. Positively, the obligation is to teach these books not as "culture" to be transmitted, but in such a way that the books can both enlist and reward the student's labor; that is, as living statements of insight and beauty, often of great wisdom.

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and

ESSAYS on education for adults

PSYCHOLOGICAL NEEDS OF ADULTS

A Symposium by

GARDNER MURPHY

RAYMOND KUHLEN

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east fifty-eighth street · chicago 37, illinios

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the association of university evening colleges.

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Psychological Needs of Adults

A Symposium

By

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INTRODUCTION

WHAT DO WE KNOW ABOUT THE "NEEDS" OF INDIVIDUALS?

Lawrence K. Frank

Since adult education has been concerned primarily with teaching a more or less formal body of knowledge and of skills, or has developed action groups through group dynamics, most adult education programs tend to ignore or at least to minimize the individuality of those who constitute any adult educational group or class.

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An emphasis upon the needs of the individual personality is justified when we recall how our social, economic and political life, living in the "lonely crowd," operates to depersonalize individuals, making them more or less anonymous units in these large scale activities or in the frequency distributions of social research, especially non-clinical psychology. It may be the peculiar responsibility and great opportunity of adult educators to provide group experiences which are planned to provide every aid to the development of individuality.* These experiences, utilizing the dynamics of the group, would aim not at group decision nor consensus (however important in action groups), but at the acceptance and recognition of the unique individuality of each member of the group or class by the teacher-leader and by the other members of the group or class. In this way individuals, feeling that they are accepted and that they belong, that they are listened to, may learn to listen to others and to lessen their efforts at gaining attention, prestige or power, reduce their often frantic attempts to rival others as an expression of individualism.

Thus the development of individuality may be viewed as the most effective procedure for dealing with the often disruptive and self-defeating individualism which our way of life fosters at great cost to social order and to the individual. But education for individuality must be guided by an understanding of the way individuals function as unique individuals. This understanding is largely obscured, even denied, by most of our contemporary studies which start with categories, questionnaires, preconceived statements of beliefs, opinions, etc., into which respondents are required to fit themselves. These studies are valuable for many purposes, but they do not reveal much about individuals as such; rather, like the standardized tests and objective type examinations, they show how each one deviates around the central tendency, the most frequently revealed pattern, at least in his responses to what the investigator has selected as normative categories.

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*See L. K. Frank, How to be a Modern Leader, Association Press, 1954, N. Y.C.

The adult educator needs to become more aware of individuality, to respect its expression by persons, as essential to valid communication and productive relationships. Adult educators should be especially responsive to each person and solicitous of that individual's way of thinking and feeling which may be heard, but subordinated to the group consensus or to the prevailing convictions expressed in textbooks. Here adult education faces the crucial question of how it will strive to maintain a social order that, not only in formal creeds but in living practice, will genuinely respect the worth of the individual and try in every way to enhance his dignity. To accept one's own individuality, one's individual differences from others, is a difficult task facing every person from infancy on, and adult education should be guided by the need of individuals for helpful encouragement in accepting themselves, in creating and continually revising an image of themselves, as a growing, developing, continually maturing man and woman.

These papers were delivered at the 1954 annual meeting of the Adult Education Association, as part of a series of sessions devoted to the topic "Do We Know What Adults Really Need?" Dr. Gardner Murphy discusses the individual personality as expressed in his or her selective awareness and patterned perception which largely govern what the individual will hear, will accept, will understand and use when presented with any kind of experience, especially an educational program. This presentation will remind us that every member of a group is a unique individual. While physically present in the classroom he may be neither receiving nor responding to what is being presented unless somehow it is related to his or her interests and concerns. The full implications of this for education and especially for adult education merit careful consideration and application to the many programs that are now being offered to adults.

Dr. Raymond Kuhlen reports his and other findings on the expressed interests of adults at different age periods as further indications of what subject matter areas, what kinds of materials and what kinds of experiences may be desirable in adult educational programs. This report raises the question of how far the materials of education can and should be organized and presented not primarily logically, but psychologically. This means that offering the materials of the different disciplines in such a way that they are responsive to the interests and needs of adults instead of expecting the adults to accept and use these materials because that is the way each discipline has organized its subject matter.

INDIVIDUALITY IN THE LEARNING PROCESS

Gardner Murphy

In an age of standardization there is no temptation more seductive to the educator than to develop an ideal method—ideal in terms of the needs and hopes of some group—and then apply the techniques of an industrial society to make this ideal available to every individual who learns. For a long time, indeed, we have assumed that since education aspires to be a science it must aspire to an unflinching application of universal and demonstrable laws.

The spheres of applied psychology which are the most mature have already discovered, however, that when human beings rather than the machines they operate become the focus, the whole form of thinking is recast. No longer today does one relentlessly fit the individual to meet the requirements of the machine; one tries, rather, to design machines, automobiles, planes, surgical instruments, even assembly line processes, to the human individual. The minute that one embarks upon this process one finds that individuals differ far more than anything else with which science deals.

For a while we thought these differences lay mainly in the muscular system and the tendency to action. We assumed that individuals all see alike, hear alike, remember alike, but behave differently. The progress of research has shown more and more how wrong this is: individuals behave differently largely because they see differently, recall differently, think differently. The applecart of a psychology based upon abstract laws disregarding individuals was upset by William Stern in his classical investigations of the psychology of testimony. A group of sixteen adults sharing an outing in the country suddenly heard shouts and screams. Rushing to the scene, they found what appeared to be evidence that a murder had been committed. Testimony was immediately obtained; there were sixteen substantially different versions of what had happened. Actually, there had been no murder, but human individuality was sufficient to create on the spot sixteen varieties of homicide.

In a laboratory today we realize that each person finds, in the faces about him and in words and intonations, something which will make sense of the world in terms of his own sensitivity and individual cravings. Thus Herbert Schlesinger has found that individuals select or exclude from material presented to them in accordance with deep-seated and unconscious ways of selecting and excluding. If, for example, one is to estimate the sizes of small discs, upon some of which have been painted distracting pictures, some individuals are unable to exclude the distraction, and fail to estimate accurately, while others can easily exclude these and other distractions. Those who resist distraction—the "focusers"—differ, indeed, from the "non-focusers" in a broad and systematic way of facing life situations, a fact shown by studies of their emotional responses to various queries dealing with life problems. The Rorschach ink-blot test has long made us aware of the fact that one's unconscious habits of perceiving throw into relief one thing, play down another, and exclude a third altogether.

These facts are relevant—if not all important—when we ask the question: Who are these adults that sit before us in our classes? The all-important answer is that they are individuals: from what we say they find their own accent and make their own meaning. They may seem at a given moment to be in concert. Even then, however, delicate observation would show that they digest and recreate what they hear, and that as time goes on the processes of recall, thinking, and imagining bring out the individual differences even more dramatically. Not only the creative genius, but the everyday man and woman select from the material presented them and shape it, consciously or unconsciously, to their will.

You may have noted that implied in what I have been saying is the proposition that intellectual or cognitive functions are regarded as molded by emotion and impulses. In the eighteenth century such a condition was thought to be the contamination of thought by emotion, but we have come a long way since the eighteenth century. The more deeply we penetrate in the psychological laboratory, the more we find, as the psychoanalysts have found and as the physiologists have found, that those mechanisms within us related to intellectual process and those related to emotional and impulsive process are interdependent. Indeed, there is no way—anatomically, physiologically or psychologically—in which they can be neatly separated. So far as we know, there is no device by which we can fill the minds of adult students with factual material as we would pour coal into a bin; no device by which cold, clear intellectual skills can be incorporated in the way of the exquisite backward fancy dive which excites our imagination through sheer virtuosity of muscular control.

Educational dynamics permit no such process. Rather, if the intellectual problem is to be communicated, its emotional meanings for the various members of the group have to be considered. Different contexts, different feeling tones, will give personal meaning to each individual. If we can know each individual, we may deliver our message. If we do not, we may, like Shakespeare, make the method sufficiently rich so that each can select what he needs. A famous country preacher, not renowned for fine shadings in expression, was asked whether he talked to the more thoughtful members of his congregation or to the mass. He replied, "I put the fodder on the ground, so that anything from a giraffe to a jackass can get it." The difference between him and a Shakespeare lies in hiding some of the fodder under bushes or in clefts in the bark, putting some on higher branches and, above all, in varying the fodder itself.

More specifically, we should provide an array of learning experiences for adults, supplementary readings in addition to textbooks, for example—so that each in his own way can gain understanding, can assimilate the meanings of a subject into a personal mode of thinking and feeling.

We have already hinted that a large part of the problem of adult learning is one of the feeling tone of material learned, which leads us immediately into a closer consideration of what the very process of perceiving is. Perceiving is more than a registry of the outer environment upon our senses, more than a direct and accurate pick-up by the mind. Perception involves a way of feeling, as well as a way of interpreting. When Wordsworth reminds us that "a primrose by the river's brim, a simple primrose was to him, just this and nothing more," he is making clear that the primrose can have for the poet many different meanings, because of the associated context, particularly the context of feelings. When Shelley refers to the moon as "that orbed maiden with white fire laden," he is asking us to glance for the moment at a similarity between two faces, one human, one celestial, both pale, but both gleaming with a great brilliance. By one device or another, all content becomes more than content; it becomes a symbol surrounded with feeling tone. The feeling tone may be of the type which we call esthetic, as in these instances; or it may be an anticipation of a deeper and richer experience, as when love, reverence, devotion, loyalty are implied.

Or, tragically enough, very commonly indeed in both adults and children, the material may have an implicit threat value, may arouse, consciously or unconsciously, dread or shame or guilt or rage. One of our profoundest and most universal difficulties in teaching either adults or children is that the material presented may unexpectedly remind one of earlier situations involving fear, rage, or guilt; or the learning situation may be surrounded with emotion highly irrelevant to the task at hand. Even the simplest factual material then takes on a threat. A child may be delayed in reading if unconsciously the words learned by an older and more brilliant brother—with whom he is utterly unable to compete—are laden with terror to him. Or, very commonly, the task of learning to read may be considered a sissy's task, and performing it well may be thought to result in an impoverishment of one's masculinity. We do not outgrow these feelings—the adult has not fewer but more emotional associations with factual material, although we usually assume that he has less, because the devices of control are more elaborate and better covered in the adult. Fortunately, there are some types of emotional support and emotional threat which are almost universal in a given adult group—for example, fear of not having the right, socially approved feelings, tastes and values. We can be quite sure from much practical experience that casting a sentence in "acceptable" language determines whether a group of adults will assimilate or be enraged by facts about, say, government or human reproduction. Unfortunately, however, the psychological bases for individual acceptances and rejections are as yet poorly explored.

A third factor beyond content and emotion involved in all learning is what we might call the action tendency which the material liberates. Every type of material, no matter how remote, has some implications for action, and the tendency to immediate acting out varies greatly from one person to another and from one social group to another. Any listener will respond: "This means that *I* should *do* so and so," since it is practically impossible for any material dealing with human activities—social, political, artistic, scientific—not to arouse in a hearer or a reader the feeling, "Then I must give up doing so and so, and start doing the opposite." But there are huge individual differences, to an extent which might even warrant our defining contrasting types: those whose feeling is, "Let's salt this away and keep it ready, and when the occasion comes, we'll use it," and at the other extreme those who say, "That means that tonight I must remember to say so and so to my son, or tomorrow at the office I must remember not to do this, but to do that." This definition of extreme types might extend also to the esthetic realm, in which some observe, "This opens up for me a new area of enjoyment," as contrasted with those who note, "Now I must begin putting this in practice in a new way. I must begin to create in the light of this new outlook."

Group discussions, by permitting all members to verbalize these feelings and these tendencies to action, are important for adults, since in the group an adult, with the help and the guidance of others, may be able to clarify new ideas and find encouragement toward revision of previous beliefs and expectations, without going to an opposite extreme of thinking, or taking an equally mistaken, contrary position or course of action.

II

But the most important of all the individual differences among adult learners lie in their concepts of themselves—what is now being called the self-image, the picture one has of himself—his sense of identity, where he belongs, what he can do, what his assets and liabilities are. Nobody can confront factual or esthetic or moral or legal or any other types of significant material without asking: How does this affect me as a person? Can this in some way enrich me, enhance me, make me stronger, give me greater sensitivity? Can I assimilate this? On the other hand, what are the implications that may threaten me? How shall I defend myself? Most of these questions of course go on unconsciously, but nonetheless centrally. In a competitive society; new knowledges, new skills tend to strengthen one's status and power; by and large, the concept that knowledge is power is probably effective in a competitive social order. It is futile to hope that the motive of gaining prestige through learning, or gaining power through new acquisitions of fact or skill, could become wholly irrelevant, fatuous to assume that knowledge for knowledge's sake in some abstract sense can become a very important goal of most adult learners.

There is nevertheless a vast difference between accepting the situation cynically and accepting it creatively. Where the new knowledges and skills can remedy a genuine defect, rectify a balance, and partially remove an inferiority feeling, they may thus be socially constructive. More important, a very large number of new knowledges and skills may increase the social awareness, the social participation of individuals, and may in the long run enable them to find new points of contact with others and new ways of working with others toward socially creative goals.

Moreover, new knowledge, new understanding may enable the individual to learn more what he would like to be and do, to approach more nearly his ideal self. Aspirations of individuals are connected with ambitions for gain or power, and are potentially the greatest resources for adult education.

Taking the individual, then, with all his rich personal fund of idiosyncrasies in the way he perceives, recalls, thinks, feels, acts, and views himself, can we say anything at all about the reasons for these differences and about ways in which they may be changed for the better? I think we may say that both hereditary and environmental factors are plainly of huge importance with regard to all of these attributes. The constitutional factors in the temperament of small children have been effectively studied, showing that some of the temperamental differences are there even in the opening weeks of life: a tendency to moodiness or to joy or depression, a tendency to be active or passive, a tendency to precise analysis of the environment or to diffuse, vague, and global perception of the environment. No modern educator would think of ironing out such individuality or attempting to negate basic individual factors of temperament and interest. On the other hand, through the family and through the cultural setting as a whole, these primordial individual factors are enriched, shaped and molded, or rejected and repressed. They are, for example, directed by the process of conditioning, as objects which at first are neutral become enormously valuable or enormously threatening. Moreover, peculiar cultural satisfactions result from a kind of channeling process, like that, for example, which provided nineteenth century Germans with music of particular melodic and rhythmic patterns while the men of India, with their zithers and drums, were creating music for the dance based upon fundamentally different melody and rhythm. Such channeling takes on individuality for each person and moves him through a particular form of expression so that hereditary and environmental factors are expressed through each other. It is with the whole, integrated individual that educators must deal.

It does not make very much sense to say that if a thing is hereditary we can do nothing about it, but that if it is acquired we can change it. No one wants to knock down the whole building of the adult makeup and try to sort out among the bricks those which are constitutional. This is a completely nonsensical way of perceiving individual makeup. Actually, we have not done very much better than this when we have attempted through such processes as Americanization, etc., to knock out some elements and superimpose others. We realize more and more that we are always involving the individual in gradual processes of remaking, in which less damage is done if the old values are somehow conserved in the new, if sound and deep bases are found for new values offered as possible enrichment for life. We are dealing not with a fragment, but with a whole biosocial individual, who is continually, actively, seeking fulfillment as he grows and matures.

Perhaps we could minister to the needs of adults more effectively if we first recognized how much each person may be handicapped, even defeated, by his inability to relinquish the ideas and expectations of childhood or youth, and then tried to help him to un-learn, so that he might go on to new learning.

As we look at the individual separately, we must remember that a deep and intimate study of the individual is usually the best way to discover any impediments to rich interpersonal relations. Yet, it is often through group experience that an individual becomes most fully aware of his needs and of his characteristic ways of fulfilling those needs. An individual to be understood—yes; and individual to be isolated from and antagonistic to his fellows—no. Pardoxically, it is often through the creation of the right group atmosphere that individuality can best be released. This has become more and more evident through group therapy and through the special techniques of group dynamics developed by Lewin and his associates, who have defined group roles in which each individual can free himself from isolation in making a rich contact with the group goal and thereby with those who are pursuing the same goal.

III

With this concept of the individuality of the adult learner, what are the practical implications for the planner and the teacher? They can be briefly summarized.

One must first bear constantly in mind that all content is simultaneously intellectual, emotional, and impulse-evolving. It creates on the one hand facts and skills now available to the learner. At the same time it supplies the new material with a feeling tone, incidentally altering the feeling tone of many other items in an individual's fund of knowledge and skills; and it creates in him readinesses to act in certain ways and to forego action in other ways. There is, so far as we know, no neutral or sheerly informative material.

Secondly, the material is not simply material presented in a book or on a blackboard or through a microphone, It is offered (whether the writer or lecturer intends it or not) as a modification of the person who is learning, and, consequently of his image of himself as learner. Consciously or unconsciously, the self assimilates the material, which arouses certain acceptances or rejections, creates a sense of pride, satisfaction and power, or a sense of defeat, humiliation and impotence.

Third, there is no escape from the study of such responses in individualized fashion. What has been done in the field of research upon adult learning is trivial compared with the vast array of relevant material now obtainable from clinical sources which could be appropriately set up for individual and group experimentation in the adult learning process. As a matter of fact, there is already a great deal of material from group dynamics and group therapy which is directly related to adult education situations, and, with a little imagination and energy, could be made richly productive.

Fourth, the concept of the isolated individual as sitting behind a book or listening in his study to a radio or watching TV strips off the social clothing which give context and meaning to the learning process. The individual learns as a member of a group, shares with others the goal of learning, interprets the material as something with respect to which he agrees or disagrees with others, constantly gauges for himself the implications of the knowledge or skill for his own action and place in the group. The types of investigation done long ago by Thorndike with reference to individual learning ability are important, and there must be much more study of what the adult can learn and how his learning depends upon constitutional factors, age, sex, experience and motivation. It is, however, time for a broader view which considers the whole person and his social context as the subject matter for research in adult learning. Everything in clinical and social psychology should ultimately be made useful.

IV

From this point of view it is easy to see how completely unsatisfactory it is to catalog simply what the people at the conscious level say they want to learn, assume these to be needs, and give

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them what they want in a cellophane package. They do not even know what it is that they want to learn until they have begun to encounter the material with all its rich emotional and impulsive meanings, its relation to their own lives. If we were to recognize the persisting concern of persons which all through life is the focus of their thinking, feeling, acting, and interpersonal relations, we might be able to provide a more relevant and productive program of adult education. Our failure here may largely account for the large numbers of dropped courses. Since people do not know what they want until they have begun to use it, some hint of its use must be included in the planning of adult material. Finally, they do not know what they want until they have shared it with a group, where experience and information take on much meaning.

In short, the richness of new material and its implications when shared by groups must be used experimentally to ascertain for various types of personality the meanings of each new kind of knowledge and skill. This material must be constantly revised, studied and given new life through application, with the consideration that in any group there is not only a group norm, but there are also individuals. All that we know about individuals must be mobilized so that we may reach as many of them in all their rich individuality as is possible.

PATTERNS OF ADULT DEVELOPMENT

Raymond G. Kuhlen

Education and study to inform educators have dealt most commonly in the past with children and adolescents. The question now before us is how adults differ from adolescents. What causes the differences that seem to become more pronounced as age increases beyond twenty? What is known about aging and what can we guess about the aging process? Let us try to see how theory and knowledge can throw light on personality needs in early, middle, and late adult life.

Research on physiological and psychological changes has shown that aging is a gradual process, beginning as early as the age of twenty for many psychological functions. Aging may actually be most powerfully felt then, at the onset of young adulthood or at the onset of middle age, rather than at a later age, when tendencies have become well established.

Changes in Capacity and Physical Characteristics

Certain biological changes and changes in capacity condition personality, personality needs, concept of self, and the ability to adjust to environment. For example, such physical capacities as reaction-time, strength, and the sharpness of sensory perception decline measurably once the individual reaches the mid-twenties. Recent studies, however, indicate that measured mental capacity may increase into middle age, offsetting earlier studies showing losses in this area after the early twenties. In the thirties and forties a great many physical changes occur: losses in sexual capacity, at least in men, become evident then, as do changes in skin texture, color and quantity of hair, and the size of the waistline. These changes are not so much related to capacity to adjust to the outside world as they are to the way the individual regards himself and the way others react to him.

It is easy to overestimate or underestimate the psychological importance of these biological changes in early or middle maturity. For persons in the twenties and thirties, changes in measured intelligence, in reaction-time, and in the sharpness of the senses are so imperceptible that they may be of no great psychological importance. Furthermore, the very methods used in recording these changes may produce a deceptive conclusion. For example, the tests cover a very short period in the lives of persons being tested; and they concentrate only on simple behaviors measured in conditions of high motivation. Thus, the age curves of change do not properly show long-term abilities to function, although such tests do indicate "ceiling" capacities for different ages. People rarely work at peak capacities, however; and although top performance diminishes with the ability to learn, such decline of learning ability may be offset by really high motivation or by the more efficient work methods and increased experience which older persons may have. It is only at quite advanced ages, which do not here greatly concern us, that the curve of "ceiling capacity" may intersect with levels of usual, long-term performance. It therefore becomes apparent that decreases in measured intelligence, reaction time, and sensory sharpness are less important handicaps than has been supposed. It seems likely that in the past these changes have been overemphasized.

Similarly the decreasing energy and resiliency which the aging experience have probably been underemphasized. A person's work life makes sporadic demands on his energy, and when home chores and social and recreational activities make further demands, adults frequently find themselves carrying physically oppressive loads, a burden which may reveal the effects of aging. Although people may not be aware of a need to conserve energy, this need may in fact prompt the change which numerous surveys have shown adults to make in interest and activity patterns—as they age, adults become sports spectators, not participants; they turn from dances and party-going to stay-at-home activities such as gardening. Such changes begin to be noticeable even in the twenties. The general slowing down of the organism and the decrease in the reservoir of energy available for the activities of life combine to represent a major underlying cause for many of the subtle changes in motivation and behavior that are seen in the results of research done on people from very young adulthood on.

Changes in sexual capacity and in superficial but inwardly important bodily characteristics resulting from aging are probably important factors in adult personality change, both because of the relative primacy of the sex drive and because of the great value put on sex and youth by American society. The primary satisfaction of the sex drive in marriage followed by the gradual diminishing in biological strength of the drive with age creates a significant factor in many interest and activity changes throughout adulthood. In adolescence, the dominant pervasive interest is sex-social activities; from 25 on, this interest is reduced. The threat posed by such losses in highly valued physical traits may have an impact on the person's concept of himself, and this threat alone may well further affect his motivations, attitudes, interests, and values.

The Urge for Expansion—A Positive Force

But let us put aside the "threat" for a while and have a look at a positive force. There is an initial phase of "expansion" in psychological development, followed by a leveling off on a plateau, and then, in turn, a lessening of activity and a decline in status. Generally speaking, the expansion phase is caused by increasing competence in manipulating one's environment, the result in turn of increased mental and physical capacities, the development of goals appropriate to one's culture, the accumulation of experience, and the acquisition of the chance from one's culture to act with relative independence. Buhler has argued that the drive for such expansion in a continued sense is the fundamental motive of life. There are many ways of phrasing it: a continuing need for achievement; a need for on-goingness; a need to gain and maintain a position as a significant person in the person's own world, however he defines it. Such a theoretical general need seems to explain important age changes as they relate to specific needs and behaviors.

The "need for expansion" manifests itself in many ways, though Buhler sees the commonest ways as having children and succeeding at work. In general, a person will use one way of satisfying the need for expansion until he finds that he succeeds or decides that he is getting nowhere. In either case he then takes another way, sets another goal. There are more complex aspects of this situation, of course. Maslow has suggested that a person ranges motives in an order to rank and that lower needs have to be satisfied before higher ones can be. Both ideas—of turning from one goal to another and of ranked goals—are very useful in explaining the changes in needs which age demands.

As some specific examples, the Syracuse study showed that single women teachers up to about the age of 30 gave marriage as their major goal. After that age, they considered advancement in teaching as paramount; later, continuation in the same job was dominant. In another study, married women at about 50 showed a peak in participation in community and organizational activities and responsibilities. Apparently they achieved in this way a sense of expansion after their children had left home. When the women declined from this peak—because of failing energy supplies, it was hypothesized—they showed an increase in other types of recreational activities. The study showed that men are older before they increase recreational activities but the increase is subsequent to retirement.

Other examples abound. Parents' identification with their children and their successes provides a way for continued expansion when the parents' lives are stagnant. When people were asked, by one study, to draw charts of their happiness at different ages as they viewed their lives in retrospect, in many cases middle aged persons reflected happiness or unhappiness in response to events in the lives of their grownup children. Pleasure in children's successes was one of the commonest sources of happiness in parents' later years. It is believed that this need for continuation and expansion of self results in part in the steady increase with age of religious interests, and particularly in the marked increase of the aged in belief in immortality —presumably they find that time is running out and that other possibilities of expansion are closed to them. In a study done at the University of Chicago, for instance, it was noted that every one of the 28 persons over 90 years of age expressed certain belief in an after-life, as opposed to 71 per cent of the men and 83 per cent of the women in the 60-64 age bracket.

We feel sure, then, in the light of all this, that there is a positive, seeking tendency toward achievement, expansion, going-on in people, a tendency which evidences itself in different ways at different stages of life. Programs of adult education can and do play an important role in this changing picture. In early adulthood, a person sees an educational program primarily as a means to another end, as an instrumentality. For a single woman who attends an evening course to meet men, the subject matter may be incidental. For a young man enrolled in a public speaking course to learn how to present his ideas better and thus advance in business, the subject matter and technique are vital. For people of middle and late maturity, adult education can offer opportunities toward basic personal growth, rather than means toward other kinds of expansion. The end for them can be continued expansion in a skill or area of knowledge for its own sake—the means to a broad self-development. Just as secondary schools and colleges have filled a void in the lives of adolescents with no clear role in society and only limited opportunity for accomplishment in the workaday world, so adult education programs can provide opportunity for the development of personal resources and the achievement of a sense of accomplishment for adults who find their primary role in life ended—women whose children have established their own homes, men who have retired from work. A study done 20 years ago shows an indication of this trend: younger adults took evening courses primarily for vocational purposes, and older adults took courses as ends in themselves for cultural purposes.

Defense Against Losses—The Negative Force

We have seen how a positive sense of expansion may be achieved in various phases of life. Let us look at the negative side of the problem. In the general over-all picture of life, there is a gradual contraction as losses eventually outweigh gains. The expansion period may end and the contraction begin with declining capacities, with retirement, with the domination of life by such time-consuming activities as homemaking or making a living, with the achievement of such major goals as social or professional status, with the frustration resulting from moving into a culturally less favored age group, or with various organic changes and losses. A combination of factors may, of course, be in operation. Activity may be restricted either directly through loss of capacity or opportunity, or indirectly through the defenses the individual's ego throws up against threats, so that he may rather have greater control over a narrowing environment than risk the dangers involved in new situations.

This last—the need to erect defenses against losses—constitutes a second aspect of personality needs in the adult years. Clear age trends in psychological response to a stress situation have been shown among enlisted military personnel as young as ages 17 to 35. Welford in England has noted that, from the age of 30 on, his subjects show a certain unwillingness to subject themselves to psychological testing. Also, once they have taken part in a skill-learning task, they frequently show anxiety about the quality of their performance. Many students of the subject of aging, particularly those who are psychoanalytically oriented, have interpreted aging very largely in terms of ego-defenses against physical, social, and other losses. Their arguments seem well taken.

Let us look at an example of the diverse and subtle ways in which this threat may reveal itself in personality. In studies still under way at Syracuse University, attention has been given to the concept of rigidity, especially of a kind called "intolerance of ambiguity." Many confused, insecure—in short, threatened—people seem to be unable to tolerate many of the ambiguities common in life, so they force the world into a certain structure. They tend to see things in blacks and whites, to deny the existence of ambiguous grays; they create a structure prematurely before they have adequate evidence, or they create an immovable structure by taking extreme positions. This need to create a structure may be so strong that inconsistencies, even opposites, may be combined. Or such people may "leave the field" entirely: they may fail to express an opinion even after all the evidence is in, or they may delay unduly, avoiding completely any threatening ambiguity. It was thought that if adults became increasingly susceptible to threat with age, there might be at least a partial convenient explanation for many personality traits and behavior changes often presumed to be associated with increasing adult age: conservatism, dogmatism, rigidity, avoidance of new experiences, and constriction of environment.

Consequently we analyzed data showing certain attitudes of a national sample of college graduates (information obtained by Time and made available to us). It was assumed that verbal statements of attitudes usually contain a great deal of ambiguity, and that we could make certain predictions regarding age differences from the responses. The hypotheses that older persons are more prejudiced and that they more frequently fail to respond to questions ("leave the field") were both supported. In a further study, three age groups, 25 to 35, 40 to 50, and 55 to 65, each comprised of male members of service clubs, were asked to indicate degrees of agreement or disagreement with a variety of attitude statements. Four hypotheses were supported: (1) There was a reliable tendency for older persons to register emphatic agreement or disagreement more frequently than younger men, although the answers were scaled to allow for less emphatic agreement. This result shows the increased dogmatism, the tendency to deal in blacks and whites, to "over-structure"; (2) There was a reliable tendency for older persons to endorse conflicting statements more frequently than younger ones did. This result shows the need to create a structure even at the expense of combining inconsistent or opposite elements; (3) Older adults seemed less able to take a frankly ambiguous position; they made fewer "question mark" responses than younger men and (4) The older adults showed a greater tendency to persevere in giving longer sequences of the same response to successive items. As might be expected from the assertion earlier that both physiological and psychological aging begins early, it is noteworthy that in all instances the reponse patterns of the middle-age group lay between those of the youngest and the oldest groups.

From both theoretical considerations and scattered research evidence, then, there seems to be a good case for the idea that the individual's self-image suffers progressive devaluation as adult age increases, that he is increasingly susceptible to threat, and that consequently he finds increased need for defenses. These losses, feelings of threat and defenses are expressed in many ways in adult education. He fails to take courses at all. He drops out early from courses he has started. He resists examinations, is unwilling to take part in discussion, or, if he takes part, is dogmatic. Within the group, of course, this is truer of some persons than others, but as a whole the group is inclined to lack self-confidence and try to protect themselves. An adult education program can make a contribution toward offsetting these losses by helping to reduce stereotyped notions about aging. In a society friendlier to older people, with less emphasis on youth as the glorified ideal, defensive behavior in older people might well be reduced.

Time Perspectives in Need Changes

We have seen how biological change has underlying significance in the study of aging, and we have looked at the two major general aspects of the changing personality needs of adults, the positive and the negative forces. Now let us look at another aspect: the time perspective in which these changes occur. An individual's "time concept" is important in determining the successive and different ways his needs are shown and how strongly these needs are expressed. Little study has been made of this factor. Lewin has argued that in childhood the psychological future is vague and undifferentiated, but that in adolescence there occurs a growing awareness of the psychological future. For the adolescent, the future, though still hazy, is infinite and holds rosy promise, frequently anticipated on an unreal, fantasy level. Some time after adolescence, perhaps in the thirties, the typical adult becomes aware that time is finite, and that his progress or lack of it must be viewed with reference to time and to his own age. Goals become more specific, and his day-to-day performance is directed more significantly toward them, his self-evaluations and his orientations become more realistic. It makes a good deal of difference in the way one sees one's position if the "future" lies ahead, as it does for the two-year-old; is here, as it may be for the 40-year-old; is past, or ahead only in one's children, as it may be for the older person.

Not only is there the recognition that the average life has only so many years in it; even more important for the age range in which most adult education students lie is the realization that there are "sub-limits" within this overall time perspective. Time is measured in life terms by chronological age, of course. But the particular age ranges representing critical periods for differing time perspectives are determined to some extent by biological factors. (1) physical change places early and obvious limits on the career of the athlete; (2) menopause, for example, determines time available for child-bearing; (3) complex biological factors determine expectable length of life. However in the main cultural factors are more likely to be significant in determining sub-time limits. Though people have only a vague definition in their own minds of their different roles in young-adulthood, middle age, and old age, these roles nevertheless imply certain expectations, privileges, and limitations. The single woman of 30 who wants to marry feels that time is running out. The 35-year-old clerk who wants to become an executive senses a serious time limit. The 64-year-old professor who wants to finish a book before he retires finds time is short. The shortness of time in all these cases is determined in a sense by the fact that the culture has certain established deadlines. Whether the deadline is set by biology or by the culture, however, the time variable becomes more significant and more threatening at some times than at others. As available time decreases and chances of possible failure are more fully realized, an individual may have periods of stock-taking followed perhaps by increased strength in his drive toward his goal. Studies by Buhler of the long-term unfolding of individual lives have provided evidence of the ages at which time or age may become crucial and of resulting changes in motivation.

Specific Needs and Individual Differences

We have seen that as years pass there are in adults' lives two contrasting needs: a positive force toward the achievement of positive goals, an expansion, a progressing of the individual; and

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Reports

Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College: A Case Study of Nine Institutions, November 1952. ($1.00)

The Improvement of Instruction in the Evening College. (out of print)

The Purposes of the Evening College: A Report of the AUEC Leadership Workshop, January 1953. (out of print)

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2. "Significant Research in Adult Education: Report to the Atlanta Convention of the Association of University Evening Colleges," Orville H. Palmer, November 1952. (out of print)

3. "Evaluating Courses, Not Students: An Evening College Experiment with Objective Devices," Harry L. Miller, February 1953. (out of print)
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7. "The Liberation of the Adult," Horace Kallen, March 1954.
8. "Adult Education as a Time-Binding Process," S. I. Hayakawa, March 1954.
9. "Mass Society and Liberal Education," C. Wright Mills, June 1954.
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11. "New Directions in University Adult Education," A Symposium by Stuart Demarest, Galway Kinnell, and Alvin Johnson, March 1955.
12. "Psychological Views of Adult Needs," Gardner Murphy and Raymond Kuhlen, April 1955.
13. "Schooling for Maturity," John S. Diekhoff, May 1955.

Offprints

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Diekhoff, John S. "Time Off for Good Behavior," *Journal of General Education,* Vol. VII, No. 1, October 1952.

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Schwertman, John B. "Adult Education—Means or End," *Adult Education,* Autumn 1954.

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RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

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essays on education for adults

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Schooling for Maturity

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an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the association of university evening colleges.

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RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

Schooling for Maturity

By

John S. Diekhoff

PROFESSOR OF EDUCATION, HUNTER COLLEGE
NEW YORK CITY

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
1955

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Prefatory Note

John Diekhoff needs little introduction for readers in the field of university adult education. He was the first director of the Center and left to accept a post in the Department of Education of Hunter College in New York. He still retains a lively interest in adult education, and, as this essay indicates, some trenchant and stimulating opinions about it.

The Center is happy to add those opinions to the already wide range represented in Notes and Essays. Dr. Diekhoff's persuasiveness and wit make them doubly welcome.

Harry L. Miller
Assistant Director
The Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

Chicago, Illinois
April, 1955

SCHOOLING FOR MATURITY[1]

Never Too Soon

Around the corner from my home is a private nursery school. Its proprietor sees no absurdity, apparently, in advertising it as a "pre-school school." Under different labels, it has its counterpart, no doubt, in most urban and suburban communities.

Only private nursery schools, to date, are equipped to care for six-month-old infants, but the trend even in public schools is clear enough, delayed only by the present inability of the schools to make room for increasing numbers of what are now regarded as school-age children. Parent-Teacher Associations urge the establishment of public kindergartens where they do not already exist and elsewhere urge and sponsor nursery schools. Many school counselling programs include pre-school counselling of parents, and some professional educators have already proposed that children be registered in the public schools at birth so that school officials may instruct parents, or work with them, in preparing babies not for life but for school. Many parents are as eager to resign responsibility as school administrators to assume it. The time may come when there will be no pre-school children, when no child will be too young for school.

The myth that adults are mysteriously qualified to bring up children by the mere fact of begetting and bearing them is no longer believed by sophisticated people; it seems to have been replaced by the belief that parents are bad for children. Proposals for all-day, all-year schools to combat juvenile delinquency (not merely for the children of employed mothers or from otherwise motherless homes) imply that parents are bad for children. Private and public day camps spring up like asparagus in May, at least their advertisements spring up in May, to protect children from their parents during the long summer vacations. Institutional means to protect children from their parents during the Christmas and other short vacations have not yet been devised,[2] but they too are implicit in proposals for all-year schools. Perhaps the question, old as Athens and Sparta, whether children "belong" to their parents or to the "State" will be answered in favor of neither. Modern Solomons would give the child to the school.

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[1] This essay is an expansion of remarks made by the author, under the title, "From the Cradle to the Grave," as part of a symposium on the aims of the evening college. The symposium has since been published in the Journal of Higher Education (Vol. XXVI, pp. 10-12, January 1955). The first few pages of this essay follow closely the text published in JHE and are reprinted by permission of the editor.

Never Too Late

The school claims his parents, too. As no child is ever too young for school, in some opinions, neither is any adult ever too old for school. One rationale for this claim is an extreme form of what Robert M. Hutchins has called "presentism" in education —so extreme that we might also call it "futurism." Schools and colleges in this view must teach the solutions of current problems. But, says Hutchins, since today's student will deal not with today's problems but with tomorrow's, perhaps it is more sensible to teach him how to solve problems, rather than their solutions, and perhaps this may best be done by presenting him with perennial rather than ephemeral problems. I never thought of that, says the presentist, having stopped listening at the end of the first clause. Now that Hutchins points it out, it is obvious that today's problems are not tomorrow's! Then we must teach tomorrow as well:

". . . our world is changing so fast that our schooling program

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[2] Or so I thought. After I had written this sentence, I found the following advertisement in the New York Times:

> "for your children while you vacation in Florida. . . .
> Christmas Vacation Winter Camp
> Boys and Girls (Ages 6-17)
> Dec. 23 to Jan. 2
> . . . . .
> 24 hour supervision by expert staff
> . . . . .
> 'Tourist' Students Boys & Girls
> accepted for short term semesters. . ."

> won't suffice to serve the average citizen during his whole lifetime. Our children are going to meet problems which were not even thought of when they were in school, and for which they were not in the least prepared. No one can know today what all these new problems will be. The only possible answer is that, somehow, we should continue schooling throughout our lifetime."[3]

I am not sure that teachers will be better qualified than any other adults, tomorrow, to solve tomorrow's problems. And I am very sure that no single institution (e.g., "Education") or group (e.g., teachers) should be responsible for solving the problems of the community or of the nation. The implicit proposal of Theodore Brameld, for example, that educators constitute themselves the ruling class by teaching "what the next society should be"[4] has in it all the dangers of any kind of paternalism. Therefore, with special reference to the evening college, which is an obvious agency of life-time schooling, an alternative answer to life-time schooling is the subject of this paper. An education that will serve the citizen during his whole life is what the schools should aim at, and the main business of the evening college is to provide such education for those who did not get it earlier—in or out of college. If education and life are coextensive, schooling and life are not.

Whatever their students may think, few educators responsible for evening colleges will agree to this. "Socrates learned to play the flute at seventy." "It is never too late to learn." "Education never ends." These are slogans of evening colleges, and we can hardly object to them—except that in context they do not mean what they say. They mean, "Don't stop going to school just because you are seventy—or any other mature age." "It is never too late to go to school." "Schooling never ends, or should never end." In the same

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3. S. E. Torsten Lund, The School-Centered Community, Published by the Anti-Defamation League of B'Nai B'rith, New York, 1949.

4. Theodore Brameld, Patterns of Educational Philosophy, World Book Company, Yonkers-on-Hudson, New York, 1950. "Educationally, we should agree as far as possible on where we are to go, as a prerequisite to learning how to get there," p. 528. "Education becomes increasingly a term for the co-operative methods and objectives by which the widest possible majority of the people, young and old, actively unite in behalf of the domestic and world order they can agree upon," pp. 523-24.

way, the new cliché, "An educational institution should serve the felt needs of its clients," is the evening college way of saying, "We will provide any course or program for which we can collect fees." This is also called service to the community. And a system of prerequisites, degrees, and certificates is the evening college equivalent of the serial story in the magazines—a device to keep the newsstand buyer coming back week after week, or semester after semester.

Even these blunt paraphrases of the more persuasive slogans of evening college advertising copy have enough truth in them to mislead potential adult students and to allow adult educators to deceive themselves. If one wishes to learn to play the flute or the typewriter, it will be easier with a teacher, and a school is the readiest source of a teacher. If one has had insufficient schooling or inadequate schooling, it may be an arduous task to remedy the lack at many ages under seventy, but not too arduous for some people; and it may be less arduous to do it in school than by oneself. It is never too late for some to get what a school can give. It is never too late to start school. The most important work the evening college does is provide education for adults whose schooling was insufficient or inadequate (in terms of what they learned, not in terms of the schools from which they graduated). "Better too late than never" is a slogan that describes this service better than "Never too late," however.

It is never too late to start school, but it is easy to depend on school too long. Evening colleges, nevertheless, often measure their success almost solely in terms of enrolment and "holding power," and measure their failures in terms of drop-outs and withdrawals. Enrolments are so generally accepted by educators as a measure of success that I once heard an adult educator, forgetting his recent shift to the directorship of education in a penal institution, argue that there is no other measure so valid as recruitment and holding power. In a penitentiary we recognize the absurdity, but it may be that the evening college and other adult education programs, like the penitentiary, should also look for their failures among those who come back and for their successes among those who do not.

For it is the obligation of any school, surely of a college, and most certainly of an evening college, to help students achieve independence of their school and of their teachers.[5] Schooling that prepares only for more schooling and ends with death has lasted too long, for there are no evening colleges in Heaven.

A radio interviewer during New York Education Week found a "student" who had been attending evening college classes for forty years.

There is something pathetic about a fifty-year-old son still dominated by an octogenarian father, and there is something pathetic about a man who has survived forty years of evening classes. H. M. Pulham says, "I wish to God I could go back" when he thinks of the comfortable security of the old school, and it is a pathetic passage in the novel. There is something pathetic in the mature adult still dependent on a school for intellectual stimulus and intellectual security. Indeed, there is a contradiction in the "mature adult" dependent on a school, for this dependence is a form of immaturity. If schools and teachers act more and more *in loco parentis* in our society, they are like parents in the obligation to cut the silver cord.

Schools and teachers do act *in loco parentis* in our society, assuming more and more of the parental tasks. The old phrase has become more and more meaningful. Joseph Schwab, for example, argues at length that the readiness of adolescents to accept the teacher as a father-substitute may be of great advantage, especially to the college teacher.[6] For the teacher may use this psychological fact of adolescence to attach the student's interest and then may hope to transfer that interest to the subject under study. It is also the teacher's obligation, Schwab agrees, to see to it that the student does not remain dependent too long. He adds, morover, that the technique of teaching that he describes is appropriate only for students between the ages of fifteen and twenty-five.

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[5] In another context I once wrote that the greatest success of a college is "with the alumnus who is qualified and eager to continue his education by himself or at his college" and that "the graduate's return for more schooling, his willingness to pay even nominal fees to secure it, and his willingness to devote some of his leisure to it . . . are far more certain signs of institutional success" than the obvious one of financial support. (*Democracy's College*, Harper & Brothers, 1950, pp. 145-46.) Now, obviously, I should qualify this statement.

[6] Joseph J. Schwab, "Eros and Education: A Discussion of One Aspect of Discussion," *Journal of General Education*, pp. 51-71, Vol. VIII, No. 1, October 1954.

Among the developmental tasks of the adolescent, Robert J. Havighurst observes, is the task of freeing himself "from childish dependence on parents; to develop affection for parents without dependence upon them; to develop respect for older adults without dependence upon them."[7] "Adults who have failed in this task," he goes on to say, "are dependent people, often still tied to their parents, unable to make up their minds on important matters, unable to move about freely in our adult society because they are still children, emotionally."[8] Every evening college dean or instructor knows such adults.

Among the developmental tasks of middle age, of course, Havighurst records the corresponding problem to that of the adolescent. "Just as adolescence is a time for boys and girls to become emotionally independent of their parents and to become emotionally mature people, middle age is a time for parents to co-operate with adolescent children in this task."[9] By analogy, the alma mater of adult students is at least middle-aged and should assist her offspring in the winning of their independence.

The Terminus of Terminal Schooling

Throughout the history of America, we have provided more and more schooling for more and more people. In effect, quite rightly, we have extended the period of infancy, the period of dependence of the young generation on the older, as represented by the school. Proposals to extend the period of infancy indefinitely should be viewed with suspicion, however. At some point schooling should be terminal. "Terminal schooling" should be a self-explanatory phrase: it is the schooling which leads not to more schooling but to self-education.

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[7] Robert J. Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education, Longmans Green & Co., New York, 1952, p. 42.

[8] Ibid., p. 43.

[9] Ibid., p. 86.

At one stage or another in its development, each level of American school has been terminal for the majority of its pupils or students. Shifts in the main purposes of the high school best illustrate this tendency. Early in its development, the high school was thought to be for most of its students a college preparatory school. That its curriculum was dictated by college entrance requirements clearly demonstrates this view of it. More recently, with the decline in employment opportunities for youths and with the rise in the age for compulsory school attendance, high school came to be recognized as terminal schooling for most students, and college entrance requirements (with the usual time-lag) have begun to reflect high school programs designed for students not going to college. As the percentage of students who go to college rises, this pendulum may swing again.

A similar pattern may be seen in junior colleges. For many students—most in some times and places—junior colleges simply provided the first two years of collegiate training for those who planned to transfer to universities and "standard" colleges. Now, however, more and more junior colleges provide terminal curricula for students who seek or can afford only two years of collegiate or "post-high school" or "subprofessional" schooling.[10] Standard colleges, too, are terminal for most students but are preparatory schools for those who go on to graduate and professional schools. Whether it is high school, junior college, college, or graduate school, however, at some point in the normal student career the student comes to a terminal school.[11] And one of the characteris-

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10. See Phebe Ward, Terminal Education in the Junior College, Harper & Brothers, New York, 1947.

11. Unless he comes to evening college. See Paul McGhee, "A School for Optimists," Notes and Essays, No. 6, Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, 1953, p. 2: "Despite the brave words spoken at innumerable commencement occasions about education as an unending process, the fact is that the idea of finishing is more prevalent than the idea of continuing education. The high school diploma and several degrees

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tics of a terminal school program is that it ends.

Of course evening colleges provide terminal programs—A.B. programs, professional degree programs, certificate programs, and single courses or sequences of courses leading to particular skills or knowledge of particular subjects. But even in these programs they seem to try to bring the student to the terminus as slowly as possible rather than as quickly as possible.[12]

Three Kinds of Evening Schooling

Aside from highly profitable hobby and entertainment programs sponsored by many evening colleges, evening colleges generally undertake to do three important things for adult students. In a leisure-rich age which equates leisure and idleness, the entertainment programs may well be interminable, but except for special kinds of highbrow entertainment, there are other agencies that are better entertainers than the colleges. The need for recreation may be endless—is endless—but none of the other activities of the evening college is properly endless for the student.

1. Evening colleges provide instruction in special subjects within the purview of the university, so that the adult who wants, say, new insight into current developments in science, or some help in the appreciation of music, may get the help that will send him on his way.

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following advanced education have been structured into our society as terminal points. It has only been within recent years that university agencies have been developed to foster and organize continuing programs of study for adults." For "education" read "schooling."

[12] See my article, "Time Off for Good Behavior," Journal of General Education, October 1952, pp. 41-47. For an exciting exception to the rule, see also reports of progress of an experimental degree program for adult students at Brooklyn College. In this program, Brooklyn College has courageously attempted (a) to define its requirements for a degree in terms of student accomplishment rather than credits, has tried by various means to appraise the accomplishments of adult students at the time of their admission to the program, and (c) to diagnose their deficiencies, and then to grant degrees on the basis of equivalent credits when the student has demonstrated that he has the accomplishments equated with the degree.

2. Evening colleges provide occupational refresher training or upgrade training for the adult who knows what he wants to do and does not have the skills to do it, or lacks confidence in his skills. The description occupational should not be too narrowly defined in this context. It does not refer to gainful employment alone. Even in industrial America people still do some things without pay. They raise children, for instance.

3. Evening colleges provide educational programs described by the adjectives "liberal" and "general" and designed to help adults develop those qualities which undergraduate education often fails to induce in undergraduates—whatever those qualities are that make an educated man. Newman describes them. One quality I am sure of: the ability to continue learning without the help of a school.

If evening colleges and other adult education agencies did not deny it in their promotion literature, the simple statement that intellectual maturity includes the ability to continue to learn would be enough to show that each of these three kinds of education appropriate to the evening college is properly terminal education and therefore has a terminus. Since the proposition is denied, however, in the theory if not in the practice of adult education, we may profitably look briefly at each of these three educational activities.

Highbrow Hobbies

The first important function of the evening college is to give adult students an opportunity for more or less systematic study of special subjects in which they are interested—current developments in science, the appreciation of music, international affairs, and the like. In a sense, this is highbrow hobby education. For some students already well enough educated to diagnose their own educational needs, such courses provide a means of completing a liberal education. The object of the student (since here we assume no vocational aim) is to fill in a gap of which he is aware in his general knowledge or to get an intellectual resource that can satisfy his desire for fruitful and enjoyable use of leisure. In so far as such study is recreational, there is perhaps no theoretical limit to the schooling that may be pertinent, but for most students a course or two will suffice. A successful course in music appreciation results in the enjoyment of music, growing enjoyment of music, and the student goes on his way to concerts and record shops. An unsuccessful course leads only to discouragement, not to another course. So in other fields. The courses in International Affairs and Current Science do not lead to diplomatic careers or to scientific research. At some point short of that the student gets the competence he seeks or the competence to get it without the help of a school. Or he quits.

There are other gaps to be filled, to be sure, and some students flit from field to field or from acre to acre, like the forty-year veteran or like the retired colonel who has had every language course offered in one evening college. Students may do this without embarrassment, especially in non-credit programs. For non-credit programs typically are not programs at all but ever-expanding collections of unrelated courses to which one and all are invited. Large evening colleges really do list courses enough to keep a student out of evening mischief from the cradle to the grave.

Of course in this evening college setting students are wiser than the schools which seek their continued custom, and the veteran of forty years of classes is exceptional. That is to say, students plan their own terminal programs or withdraw when they have had enough. This is the part of the evening college in which turnover is expected to be large. Here today, gone tomorrow; and nobody worries about it. Brief treatment of this kind of education here does not mean that it is not important, both in the numbers of people it attracts and in the service performed for them. It only means that in my judgment everyone recognizes that this kind of schooling, from the point of view of the student, is an occasional not a continuous activity.

Functional Education

The second important service of the evening college is to give occupational education to adult students. I might have said functional. Education for motherhood, education for citizenship, education for flute-paying, for typing, as they are usually conceived, are all alike in regarding the student as a functionary. When the individual can perform the function satisfactorily, the schooling may end.

In his many roles or relationships—worker, citizen, husband or wife, parent, consumer, and so on—every human being performs many functions. He operates a lathe, an automobile, a furnace, a voting machine, a lawn-mower, a television set, and a spinning reel. He reads, writes, speaks, makes change, and files income tax returns. Good schooling may contribute indirectly to his adequacy in all of these activities and may, perhaps, profitably be designed to contribute directly to his performance of some of them. Profitably or not, courses exist which presumably prepare for all of them: there are now teaching materials available for the prevention of litter on picnic grounds. Whether the student (child, adolescent, or adult) learns to perform these tasks in school or elsewhere, it is well for him to have the qualities, the information, and the skills which constitute his adequacy and it is well for him to have them before the grave.

No one, of course, proposes interminable schooling for any particular function or activity. The young mother studying "Child Growth and Development" wishes to apply what she learns to the rearing of her children. We do not expect her to remain in school or even in a PTA study group to study child growth and development all her life, in anticipation of grandchildren and greatgrandchildren. Refresher courses at twenty-five year intervals will be enough. We should not be disappointed, either, in the young woman who seeks advancement in her job by adding shorthand to her typing skills if she discontinues her school shorthand when she achieves expertness or when she is skilled enough to achieve expertness on the job. The septuagenarian who follows Socrates in the study of the flute may discontinue his lessons when he becomes first flutist in the gerontological orchestra.

There is no end of functions, of course. The flutist may wish to double in brass. The young secretary, having mastered typing and shorthand, as she advances in her career may wish to learn bookkeeping, accounting, personnel management, salesmanship, public relations, and a host of other skills—in school if she has time to do it in school before she retires at sixty-five and joines the orchestra. She is more likely to do much of her learning on the job as the job requires each new function of her.

Some functions, like those of parenthood and citizenship, are so complex and difficult that they are never mastered. Schooling for the performance of these functions must aim at two things: The competence of the functionary to do satisfactorily if not wisely and expertly what he must do when he is called on to do it, and the knowledge and skill, the confidence and the desire, to learn "on the job" to do it better.

Our schools at all levels now place great stress on "education for citizenship," for example. The child and the youth, in and out of school, perform many of the duties of citizenship, broadly defined, during childhood and adolescence; and they practice many of the techniques of citizenship, more narrowly defined, in student government organizations and other clubs. The modern report card includes a grade in citizenship. Nevertheless, we may take the age of enfranchisement as the age at which the young American becomes a full citizen. Through elementary, secondary, and collegiate schools he may have had sixteen years of "education for citizenship." As a college graduate—perhaps with a major in political science—he may in the secret recesses think himself qualified to be Secretary of State. The school may be satisfied if he is qualified to learn that he is not.

Former Governor Arnall of Georgia defends enfranchisement at eighteen as an educational measure: the young voter begins to learn the duties of citizenship three years earlier than in other states. Governor Arnall sees (as many educators do not see) that we cannot wait to be citizens until we are ideally qualified, and he has more faith in learning by doing, perhaps, than many educators who give lip service to the doctrine. In terms of motivation, in terms of the reality of the situation, in terms of the meaningfulness of the activity, the best place to learn by doing is on the job.

The school preparing for parenthood will not expect expertness in its graduate either. It will teach what it can of "Child Growth and Development," no doubt, and of the relevance of knowledge of children to the way we treat them, but it may congratulate itself if the young mother who is its graduate can read Dr. Spock's book with somewhat skeptical understanding and knows (from Spock if not from some other source) when not to worry and when to call for expert help. If young women wait to be expert in the duties of parenthood before bearing children, they will find themselves beyond the age for bearing them.

The Grave's a fine and private place,
But none, I think, do there embrace.

A common error made by advocates of functional education is the tacit assumption that schooling can make finished practitioners of such difficult and complicated arts as citizenship, parenthood, or cabinet-making. However good the school, there is always something to be learned on the job because it can be learned only on the job. Clearly, then, schooling which aims at skill in the performance of any particular task or at the tasks of any particular function ought not be interminable. If such schooling is sought by adults who are present rather than future functionaries, there is greater need for haste. The whole point of functional education is to master as quickly as possible the skills and knowledge necessary to perform the function and to learn while doing it to do it better and better. Adult students know this. A fifteen-week evening course in typing may have an enrolment. A fifteen-year course will be less popular, even though the catalogue breaks it into units (Beginning Typing; Advanced Typing; More Advanced Typing; Typing for Experts; three credits each semester) and offers it on the installment plan: "Fee, $45.00 each semester."

Of course education for citizenship and education for parenthood are different from education for typing. The good typist can read, spell, punctuate, and operate a typewriter. She learns these things in business school if she has not learned them elsewhere. She can tolerate the idiosyncrasies of her employer, and she can tolerate life in a stenographic pool. She is welcome in an office. But the operation of the typewriter is what she learns in the course in typing.

Skills and qualities necessary to tolerable parenthood and tolerable citizenship, like those of the typist, are at several levels.

Skill in preparing formulae and in operating a voting machine are even more easily attained than skill in typing. But bad parents can warm baby-food and the worst citizens vote—sell their votes, perhaps, or cast them ignorantly, selfishly, fearfully, or irresponsibly. Some of the worst citizens have learned the arts of citizenship so well that they win election (and at least in Wisconsin) reelection to high office.

Similar or not, the more basic arts of citizenship and parenthood are much more difficult than the arts of a secretary, and it is more important that they be adequately learned. Even the simple act of voting requires a high order of intellectual skill if it is to be done well. Ability to read and listen with understanding (i.e., to recognize sophistry, to know that misleading half-truths are the most effective lies, to distinguish irresponsible name-calling and other devices of demagoguery, and to recognize the tyrant's appeal to fear) will enable the citizen to recognize Senator McCarthy for what he is. But this is not enough either. There are supporters of Senator McCarthy who know these things. His advisors know them. Senator McCarthy no doubt knows them, or he could not use them so effectively. It is not enough to know what justice is; one must also love it. This the schools, if it is their job, have not yet learned to teach, and educators at least since Plato have worried about it. We may well continue to worry about it.

The success of a course in typing, and the student's success in it, are measured in words per minute. If the school as a whole is creditable (surely only partly) with the other skills and qualities of its graduate, its success will be measured by the placement office in terms of the employment record of graduates—job-getting and holding power, and advancement on the job. It is ironic that emancipation from the typewriter should be one measure of success.

The success of school programs of education for parenthood or citizenship is not so easily measured and not so easily acted on. It is tempting to say that schools have failed when their graduates vote for Senator McCarthy, but the charlatan may as easily claim the failure of schools because graduates oppose him. The Zolls and some American Legion officers do attack schools for not turning out legions of uniformly Zollish products. But this is a measure of citizenship we cannot accept. There have been enough charges of ill-will and disloyalty ("twenty years of treason") on the basis of differing political opinions. When our schools produce a generation unanimous in its politics, the new tyranny will have arrived, whether the unanimity is right, left, or a shifting center. There are still men of good will, not fools, who "disapprove of how he does it but approve of what he does," and we cannot condemn them as bad citizens. It would not help much even if we were so arrogant and certain. We can fire a typist who disagrees with us and G. & C. Merriam on matters of spelling; we cannot disenfranchise citizens who disagree on much more important subjects. For that matter, it needs little schooling to particiate in Ja-vote elections.

The real problem of citizenship education is not for whom John Jones votes, but with what understanding does he vote and what are his governing motives? Even without machinery for evaluation, we may say fairly confidently that courses in citizenship, civics, political science, or international affairs may have some but will not have much effect. Although courses in citizenship or civics may help the disinterested voter to vote intelligently, they will not make the active member of a selfish pressure group a disinterested voter. Similarly, courses in parenthood, child development, or juvenile delinquency may have some but will not have much effect on the quality of American family life. A mother may learn in a course in Child Development that children need love, but she will not learn to love them. She may learn that every child has his own pattern of growth and still be unable to subordinate her own aspirations for her adolescent child to the child's more realistic aspirations.

Both sets of courses, those for citizenship and those for parenthood, are prone to the error of regarding the student as a functionary rather than as a person. But it is a person who bears children, feeds them, loves them, and desires for them the best of all possible worlds. And like the typist, the adult student of citizenship or parenthood needs knowledge and skills for immediate not for future use. The urgency is the same, and the general aim is the same:

to bring the student to the point of self-teaching.

Liberal Education

The third kind of education undertaken by the evening college and peculiar to it is liberal education for adults. This too is "functional" education, but in a much larger sense. It is education for typing, for citizenship, for parenthood, and for all the other functions of a human being, for it is the education of a human being. It is the most important work of the evening college. In its objectives it is the same as the most important work of the day college, whether or not different means are appropriate for adult students, whether or not the traditional methods and materials are the best available to achieve its ends.

Schools have not yet learned how to educate the whole man, and will never learn to do the whole job. Those who urge more or less traditional programs of "liberal education" are right, however, in insisting that this is the schooling that has as its goal the education of the whole man for all his duties. "I call therefore a complete and generous education," Milton's famous sentence goes, "that which fits a man to perform justly, skilfully, and magnanimously all the offices both private and public of peace and war." The advocates of liberal education are right again in insisting that this objective is probably not best achieved by establishing innumerable special courses to prepare for each function or duty. They are wrong, however, if they assume that "old fashioned liberal education" achieved any general success. The good citizen and the good parent need the old skills of reading, writing, and arithmetic. They also need wisdom and virtue, qualities without which even the old school accomplishments are meaningless. If wisdom and virtue are qualities of intellect and will, they are also inseparable qualities of persons. And they have been neither the exclusive possession of liberal arts graduates nor universally possessed by liberal arts graduates. Claims of credit made by colleges in terms of their distinguished alumni—percentage of graduates in Who's Who, for example—ought not be accepted until colleges also assume responsibility for those graduates who inhabit Sing Sing, write advertising copy for cosmetics manufacturers, or distinguish themselves in professional wrestling. The intellectual qualities and skills supposed to result from liberal education, good in themselves, enhance a bad man's power for ill as well as a good man's power for good—the intellectual power of Milton's Satan is not inconsiderable. But not all who go through the mill of liberal education have these qualities, either.

Wisdom and virtue, perhaps we must conclude, are in large measure self-induced qualities—more easily achieved by many men with the help of schools, perhaps, fostered by some environments or through certain experiences, but far beyond the possibility of prediction and not to be assured by the juggling of school courses. "In the schools of antiquity," says Whitehead,

> "philosophers aspired to impart wisdom, in modern colleges our humbler aim is to teach subjects. The drop from the divine wisdom, which was the goal of the ancients, to text-book knowledge of subjects, which is achieved by the moderns, marks an educational failure, sustained through the ages. I am not maintaining that in the practice of education the ancient were more successful than ourselves . . . My point is that, at the dawn of European civilization, men started with the full ideals which should inspire education, and that gradually our ideals have sunk to the level of our practice."[13]

Newer schoolmen name subjects after the "functions of a citizen in a modern democracy" rather than in terms of the division of knowledge analyzed on Aristotelian principles, but they also define their aspiration by their practice. And while we may complain that the old psychology and the old education divided the true unity of man into intellect, appetite, and will, we divide him into hundreds of parts not by faculty but by function. We very easily forget that it is the same person who operates the typewriter, feeds the baby, and goes to the poll, and that the qualities that make her intolerable, tolerable, or welcome in the office are very close to those which also make her intolerable, tolerable, or welcome at home and in the neighborhood and the community at large. In short, if people are to perform their duties justly, skilfully, and magnanimously, they must be skilfull, just, and magnanimous. None of these qualities depends on knowledge, but it helps to be knowledgeable;

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[13] Alfred North Whitehead, The Aims of Education, Mentor Edition, New American Library, New York, 1949, p. 40.

and in the traditional division of labor, it is toward the cultivation of knowledge—knowledge impregnated by reason, in Newman's phrase—to which the university directs its chief efforts.

Fortunately, the theme of this essay does not require argument about the "best" liberal education for adults, the best school means by which men and women may be helped to win their liberation. For our argument is merely that, most especially for adults, one criterion for the selection of means is the time required.

College professors and Mr. Hutchins go into despair when they are faced by alumni, for college graduates do not always bear the stigmata of educated men.[14] Perhaps their alma maters loved them too much. For whatever reason, many show signs of arrested development. For an uneducated man, however much he knows, whatever his schooling, is a man who no longer learns, and a fully educated man is a man who is always learning. He fits his new experience into the old, considers his new experience and looks anew at his old experience, knows how to learn from the experience of others, and finds pleasure in learning. He reads books for what books can tell him, he seeks experts for expert advice (lawyers, physicians, stockbrokers, or professors), he listens, he stops, looks, and listens, and he thinks. In short, to be fully educated is not to know but to be learning. In this sense it may seem that most educated people are children: "Why, Daddy?" Except that children as typified by this question are likely to be too dependent on authority, on Daddy's universal expertness. The educated adult does not depend on Daddy-Know-It-All or Alma Mater except in those areas in which specialized expertness is indispensable.

Half-a-Lifetime Schooling

The charge that evening colleges encourage life-long dependence of adult students on their teachers and on their college is literally true in terms of the promotion literature and professions of faith of adult educators. It is not generally true in practice. Degree programs and certificate programs amounting to half a degree do come to an end—in six years, twelve years, or sixteen years, depending on the number of credits the adult seeks in a term and upon his attendance at summer sessions and the like. An adult high school graduate who enters an evening college at the age of thirty and who "takes" four credits a semester (i.e., two two-hour evenings a week) for two semesters a year can amass the 128 credits required and (if he has been very canny in planning a program that meets graduation requirements and has been able to get the courses he planned on) can receive his degree when he is forty-six. If he takes three courses each term, for six credits, or two three-credit courses, he can finish the degree when he is forty-one.

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[14] See Ernest T. Stewart, Jr., "Alumni—Your Former Students," AAUP Bulletin, Summer 1954, pp. 253-68.

Moreover, everything that has been said about the extension of the period of intellectual infancy throughout life applies equally to the extension of infancy to age forty-six. When the evening college once realizes that its function is to help adults win independence of authority, it will begin to plan terminal programs designed for that purpose—programs that will begin where the adult student is and from which he will graduate when he has the educated man's knowledge and ability to learn, not when he has enough credits. Finally, if it seems unfair to say that evening colleges ask adult students to undertake life-long schooling when they really ask only for fourteen or sixteen years in the middle of a life, we may justify the exaggeration by observing that even fourteen years will seem a lifetime to most students.

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Does Adult Experience Count? An Interim Report of the Brooklyn College Experiment.

Conference Reports: (1) *The Role of Liberal Arts in University Evening College Curricula*, Pinebrook, New York, October 1954; (2) *Tradition and Innovation in University Adult Education*, Swampscott, Massachusetts, October 1954.

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1. "The Pooling of Ignorance? (Discussion in the College Classroom)," Russell F. W. Smith, October 1952. (out of print)
2. "Significant Research in Adult Education: Report to the Atlanta Convention of the Association of University Evening Colleges," Orville H. Palmer, November 1952. (out of print)

3. "Evaluating Courses, Not Students: An Evening College Experiment with Objective Devices," Harry L. Miller, February 1953. (out of print)
4. "Social Roles of the Middle-Aged Person: A Method of Identifying the Needs of Adults," Robert J. Havighurst, March 1953.
5. "Television and the University," a report of the Committee on Educational Television of the University of Chicago.
6. "A School for Optimists," Paul A. McGhee, August 1953.
7. "The Liberation of the Adult," Horace Kallen, March 1954.
8. "Adult Education as a Time-Binding Process," S. I. Hayakawa, March 1954.
9. "Mass Society and Liberal Education," C. Wright Mills, June 1954.
10. "A Participant-Observer Approach to the Teaching of Human Relations Classes," Daniel I. Malamud, February 1955.
11. "New Directions in University Adult Education," A Symposium by Stuart Demarest, Galway Kinnell, and Alvin Johnson, March 1955.
12. "Psychological Views of Adult Needs," Gardner Murphy and Raymond Kuhlen, April 1955.
13. "Schooling for Maturity," John S. Diekhoff, May 1955.

Offprints

Reprinted articles of interest to the field of adult education are occasionally distributed as a service by the Center. The following articles are available at present.

Diekhoff, John S. "Time Off for Good Behavior," *Journal of General Education*, Vol. VII, No. 1, October 1952.

Frank, Lawrence K., Robert Havighurst, and John Walker Powell, "What Do Adults Really Need?" University of Chicago *Round Table*, No. 865, November 7, 1954.

Houle, Cyril O. "The University Evening College: Its Purposes and Relationships within the University," *Journal of Higher Education*, Vol. XXV, No. 7, October 1954.

McGhee, Paul A. "Three Dimensions of Adult Education," *Educational Record*, April 1954.

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Schwertman, John B. "Adult Education—Means or End," *Adult Education*, Autumn 1954.

Schwertman, John B. "Explicitly for Adults," *CEA Critic*, Vol. XVI, No. 9, December 1954.

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Professional Preparation of Adult Educators

A Symposium

center for the study of liberal education for adults
940 east fifty-eighth street · chicago 37, illinois

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults.

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1956

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professional education for educators of adults

Cyril O. Houle
Professor of Education, University of Chicago

Woodrow Wilson, while still a young professor of government, wrote a classic statement defining the study of public administration. He began by saying:

> I suppose that no practical science is ever studied where there is no need to know it. The very fact, therefore, that the eminently practical science of administration is finding its way into college courses in this country would prove that this country needs to know more about administration, were such proof of the fact required to make out a case.*

A similar proof exists to-day of the need of our society to know more about adult education. At least twelve universities have one or more professors who devote all or most of their time to this field, and countless other universities and colleges provide at least a course or two. These institutions are trying, by their research, to establish a sound foundation for the field of adult education and, by their teaching, to use this foundation as the focus for professional study.

The basis for this new "eminently practical science" lies in the central idea of adult education itself. The educators of adults must establish in the consciousness of their fellow men the belief that systematic learning is more efficient, more rapid, and more comprehensive than random learning. The unorganized flow of life brings its own lessons but, as Poor Richard reminded us, experience keeps a dear school. The central aim of all organized adult education is to provide the adult not only the new information and understanding he needs but also the opportunity to examine his own observations and experiences, to draw meaning from them, and to build a structure of principle which will illumine and make more significant the flow of life about him.

The present generation, however, is the first in which educators of adults

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*"The Study of Administration," *Political Science Quarterly*, II (1887), 197-222.

are realizing the relevance of their central belief in systematic learning to their own professional lives. Most of the leaders in the field have come to their present positions through a process of growth on the job. They are now beginning to understand that while experience provides a necessary familiarity with their immediate field of work, it is seldom enough to give them (or their successors) the balance, the perspective, and the vision they require. For this broader and more purposeful view, they are turning to the universities for help, and it is with their needs in mind that the universities are trying to build a stronger and more solid professional base for the field of adult education.

This endeavor is only beginning, but already, as the professors of adult education undertake their work on campus after campus, they are discovering independently the fundamental shape of the field they have entered and the emerging profession they are helping to create. As yet, however, both the field and the nature of the profession are only imperfectly understood by the multitudes who identify themselves as educators of adults. The purpose of this paper, therefore, is to identify for them some of the central ideas around which the universities are building their programs of service to the new profession.

Most adult learning takes place spontaneously and naturally as individuals define learning goals and seek to accomplish them by their own efforts. Wherever adult education takes on a social form, however, two groups of people are differentiated: those who accept responsibility for providing focus and direction, and those whose activities are thereby shaped and led. Distinctive specific circumstances cause the pattern of duality to take many forms: the teacher and the learner; the leader and the participant; the counselor and and the person counseled; the administrator and the staff; and the planner and the person who is guided by the plans. It is the first party in each of these pairs to whom we give, for convenience, the generic terms "leader" or "educator of adults" and it is in his preparation for that role that the need for adequate training arises.

the pyramid of leadership

Insofar as a broad pattern may be discerned amid the bewildering variety of forms of leadership in adult education, it takes the general shape of a pyramid. This pyramid is divided horizontally into three levels which are essentially different, though at their edges they blend into one another so that no sharp line can be drawn to differentiate them.

At the base of the pyramid is the largest group, those who serve as volunteers. Their number is legion and their influence is enormous. They include: the lay leaders of discussion groups; the chairmen of educational committees in voluntary associations; the volunteer leaders in churches, group work agencies, schools, community centers, and the Co-operative Extension Service; and the countless numbers of people who work to advance popular understanding of such special fields as citizenship, safety, health, international understanding, race relations, and planned parenthood.

At the intermediate level is a smaller group of persons who, as part of their paid employment, combine adult educational functions with other duties which they perform. They include: general staff members in public libraries, museums, and settlement houses; school, college, and university faculty members who teach both young people and adults; educational officers in the armed services; personnel workers in government and industry; and persons employed in mass media of communication.

At the top of the pyramid are those who have a primary concern for adult education and basic career expectations in that field. They include: those who direct the adult educational activities of public schools, universities, libraries, museums, social settlements, prisons, and other institutions; to professors of adult education and others who devote their central attention to training activities in the field; specialists in adult education on the staffs of agencies with particular interests; directors of training in government, industry, or labor unions; and most of the staff of the Co-operative Extension Service. This third group is by far the smallest of the three but it exerts an influence out of all proportion to its number. Its importance arises not only from its prestige, its centrality of purpose, and its sense of professional dedication, but also from the fact that it provides the leadership, direction, and training for the other two groups.

Each of the three groups requires its own form of preparation for the satisfactory performance of its duties.

Volunteer leaders for the most part require specialized, brief, and clear-cut training to give them the immediate skills they need to carry out their responsibilities. They learn to lead a series of discussions, to plan a program, to discharge an elective or appointive office, or to conduct a campaign. Their concern is with the task at hand and how to perform it well.

Those who have some responsibility for adult education as a part of their regular employment require both pre-service and in-service education. The curriculums which prepare teachers, school administrators, librarians, group workers, personnel directors, and ministers should include some preparation for the adult educational duties of these groups. During actual service, additional training is required. The principal of an evening school, for example, helps the day-school teachers assigned to adult classes know how to deal with the special problems and opportunities presented by mature students. The specialist in adult services in a public library assists the other librarians to understand the techniques by which adult readers may be helped to select books more wisely. The examples could be extended; they all illustrate the general phenomenon of generalists being aided by specialists.

Those who have a primary concern for adult education and basic career expectations in that field require a more sustained and full-scale preparation for their work. Most of the rest of this paper focuses directly on that preparation.

The nature of the three groups and

their educational needs has been sketched very broadly in order to define the third group to which central attention is to be given. Before concentrating on that third group, however, it should be pointed out that the training of the other two presents a number of serious questions to which, as yet, no adequate answer has been found. Some volunteer leaders, for example, become intrigued with their adult educational responsibilities and wish to extend their range of knowledge and competence while still remaining volunteers. How are they to be helped to do so? Another problem is suggested by the inevitable overlapping between the education of the part-time worker and that of the specialist. What principles can be drawn from the extensive education of the latter to be included in the briefer training of the former? These problems and others like them will require sustained application of thought based on a great deal of experience.

Universities cannot concern themselves only with the education of the specialists. The total university curriculum of the future must contain courses in adult education in all those divisions of the institution which prepare workers who will have a part-time responsibility in that field. Among these divisions are: the school of education, the library school, the college of commerce, the theological seminary, the department of nursing, and the school of social work. The extension services of the universities must also accept a greater obligation for preparing volunteer leaders. The central focus of the university's effort, however, must be the education of specialists, particularly since the university is the major agency in our society which is prepared to assume this function.

All three groups should not be trained by the same activity. In those universities in which the subject of adult education is not well established and where the number of persons seeking training is small, it is sometimes necessary to lump volunteers, part-time workers, and specialists together, with the inevitable result that none of the three is adequately served. The professor who must face a class composed of people who range in interest and concern from full-time staff members of a university extension division through a group of evening school teachers and general-service librarians to an assortment of volunteer lay leaders will have an impossible task before him. Fortunately, the growth in size of adult education is making situations of this sort less frequent.

As the nature and importance of full-scale professional education for specialists is further developed and understood, it will become easier to design programs which will more directly assist the other two groups to fulfill their responsibilities.

nature of the profession

The term *professional education* is used here chiefly for the sake of brevity. What is actually meant is *the advanced education of persons who have a primary concern for adult education and basic career expectations in that field*. The English language apparently does not contain any word which comes closer to the description of present reality than *professional*, and the connotations of the term imply important ideals to be sought. Certainly the group of present practitioners of adult education cannot yet meet such accepted canons of a profession as: universal social recognition; a highly complex body of verified and widely accepted knowledge; and the existence of a corps of persons trained in a rigorous discipline and organized in such a way as to enforce conformity to its standards of behavior. But the stature and the responsibility of a true profession are goals toward which those who plan careers of leadership in adult education may now aspire as individuals and eventually hope to achieve as a group.

The traditional pattern of professional training is so clear-cut that it exerts a powerful influence on the mind. In the ministry, in law, in medicine, and in all of the other occupations which have established the right to have their practitioners educated at universities, the framework is the same. The boy or girl begins a modest measure of preparation during the period of general education. The young man or woman, after careful screening and selection processes, enters a specialized school to undertake rigorous studies over a period of years. At the beginning of the worker's service in the field, there are efforts to induct him into practice. Throughout his career, there then continues the process of in-service education, making up for deficiencies, keeping abreast of new knowledge, pursuing special interests, and preparing for positions of advanced responsibility.

Of all of the hundreds of thousands of people who undertake leadership responsibilities in adult education, only those who work in the Cooperative Extension Service follow a pattern of preparation for service which even remotely resembles the customary framework outlined above. Even with Extension workers, the pattern is more in the process of becoming than of being, but their situation is sufficiently distinctive to make them a special case to be considered separately later in this paper.

The other educators of adults seldom prepare for their responsibilities in this field during their youth but acquire an interest in it after they have become mature. The young man who wrote George Bernard Shaw for advice on how to become a drama critic got the answer: "There is no way of becoming a drama critic. It happens by accident." When the educators of adults talk about their own entry into the field, it is clear that in their case, too, accident has played a large part. They came in, they usually say, "by the back door"; the comment is made so often as to raise the speculation that there is no front door.

Adult education is now so pervasive that the accident can occur in many kinds of organizations. Table 1 presents the basic occupational categories of the 191 persons who registered in graduate courses in adult education at the University of Chicago in the three years from 1953 through 1955, including the 50 people who concentrated their work in that field. The distribution of students at other universities with graduate professional programs would probably not be far

TABLE I

OCCUPATIONAL CATEGORIES OF STUDENTS IN ADULT EDUCATION AT THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO, 1953-55

Occupational category	Students taking only one or more courses	Students concentrating in the field	Total
Public school administrators and supervisors	23	4	27
Public school teachers	31	2	33
Administrators of general university extension divisions	11	14	25
University faculty members	8	5	13
Cooperative Extension Service—administrators and supervisors	0	8	8
Cooperative Extension Service—specialists	1	1	2
Cooperative Extension Service—county workers	0	1	1
Labor union officials and staff	11	0	11
Instructional staff, special community agencies [a]	9	0	9
Staff members of national facilitative agencies of adult education [b]	5	3	8
Nursing administrators	6	1	7
Librarians	7	0	7
Clergymen	5	1	6
Staff members of group work agencies	3	2	5
Executives of national associations	1	3	4
Lay citizens	3	1	4
Executives in private industry	3	0	3
Directors of proprietary schools	1	1	2
Training directors, government agencies	2	0	2
Vocational rehabilitation workers	1	0	1
Foreign adult educators	2	2	4
Unclassifiable	8	1	9
Total	141	50	191

[a] Such as those concerned with health, family relations, or foreign affairs.

[b] Such as the Adult Education Association or the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults.

different. All of these 191 people were actively engaged in adult education with the exception of a few who took the introductory course as an elective in some other program of studies.

The fact that most educators of adults discover the field by accident is one of the chief reasons why their professional training is at the graduate level. Most of them have already secured their bachelor's or even their master's degrees and, if the university is to develop a sequence which will interest them, it must make possible the accomplishment of an advanced degree. (A few students have no concern with credits or degrees but are interested only in what they can learn.) There is, however, a far more fundamental reason for the work to be at the graduate level. It is properly placed there because it is advanced rather than elementary instruction. Its content is complex. It deals with broad and basic principles. It presupposes a considerable measure of independence and self-direction on the part of the student. It assumes that he is beyond the level of the acquisition of immediate skills and the need to learn how to solve elementary problems. He has gained from his previous education and from his experience in the field the basic knowledge he requires. Now he needs that greater breadth of conception and execution which will give him the perspective and mastery he hopes to achieve. The kinds of problems and issues which interest him are at the level which the university has traditionally considered to be graduate work.

objectives

All educators of adults believe in lifelong learning. Therefore, neither the student who comes to the university nor the professor who teaches him can assume that the graduate program will provide for a final and complete achievement of the qualities which characterize the outstanding leader of adult education. The objectives of the graduate program may serve, equally as well, for lifelong professional aims. But the time spent in graduate study provides the student who undertakes it with an uninterrupted opportunity to examine his capacities and to do what he can to improve them. Often it is the last chance he will ever have to devote his full attention for an extended period of time to his own improvement. Therefore, it is important for him to advance his education on all fronts. He needs to broaden his horizon as far as possible and to see his chosen field of competence clearly and in perspective.

Universities vary in the way in which they define the basic attributes of the outstanding educator of adults and in the emphasis which they place upon each one. Most of them, however, try to help their students achieve all of the following general objectives.

1. *A sound philosophic conception of adult education based on a consideration of its major aims and issues and embodying convictions concerning the basic values which it should seek to achieve.*

Since those who become educators of adults usually do so with no background of study or investigation, they often tend to accept each new plausible suggestion as a fundamental principle of the universe. Experience and inquiry produces a broader viewpoint. The end of all education is the improvement of man and his society and both are so complex that they cannot be fitted into neat systems or inclusive categories. The leader of adult education must understand the breadth and variety of his field and accept the fact that it includes countless aims and approaches. He also needs to develop his own set of values which will enable him to select the activities he wishes to undertake and guide him in building the program for which he is responsible. His philosophic conceptions cannot be imposed or adopted but must grow naturally; they are nurtured by reading, study, discussion, reflection, and the analysis of experience.

2. *An understanding of the psychological and social foundations on which all education (and particularly adult education) rests.*

Adulthood is not merely one stage or level of life but a general term covering several successive phases of development through which the individual passes as he moves from youth to old age. Moreover, his education during maturity is based on the kind and quality of the education which he experienced during childhood. The educator of adults must therefore examine closely what is known about the psychological development of the individual in order to understand both the fundamental laws of learning which apply throughout life and the distinctive aspects or principles which are most significant during maturity.

The individual lives in a society which ranges in scope from intimate groups to the world community of nations. Both the goals he seeks and the methods he uses are powerfully conditioned by his immediate social environment. This fact is true throughout life but is particularly significant in maturity, because men and women play a more active part in society than children ever can. The educator of adults must, therefore, study the social sciences in order to understand the ways in which group life influences and is influenced by education.

3. *An understanding of the development, scope, and complexity of the specific agency or program in which he works and the broad field of adult education of which it is a part.*

Because most people enter adult education by accident, their initial impressions are largely circumscribed by the specific jobs they undertake. Usually they are not even aware that it is a part of a broader field. Like Moliere's would-be gentleman who was surprised to learn that he had been speaking prose for forty years, they are amazed to discover that their activities could be called "adult education". Many workers in the field have only a limited knowledge even of the history and scope of the very agencies in which they work. Their horizons are bounded by local policies and immediate routines.

One of the essential tasks of graduate study, therefore, must be the broadening of these horizons to reveal the full range of the field. Invariably the student finds far more possibilities for growth in his work than he had ever expected. He discovers that others in his own field of service have developed programs which are new and interesting to him. He learns that the basic problems of education are everywhere the same and that those who work in other kinds of agencies have developed principles which have significance for him. He learns, too, something of the historical and current perspectives of the whole field and sees the place of his own work in its larger setting.

4. *An ability to undertake and direct the basic processes of education: the refinement of objectives; the selection and use of methods and content; the training of leaders; the provision of guidance and counseling; the promotion of program; the coordination and supervision of activities; and the evaluation of results.*

The effective operation of an adult educational program depends on the capacity of those who direct it to understand and use these central processes in a constructive and creative fashion and to realize how each is related to the other. At the graduate level, the student should not be concerned with mere techniques or with specific procedures. Naturally it is important for him to have such skills and, if he does not, he must take the responsibility to remedy his deficiencies. His advanced instruction, however, must give him the competence to discharge more basic capacities and to supervise and train those whose levels of knowledge and skill are not equal to his own.

5. *Personal effectiveness and leadership in working with other individuals, with groups, and with the general public.*

Personal effectiveness is so much a matter of basic personality, as tempered and developed by previous experience, that a graduate program can merely reinforce and supplement patterns which were previously established. Within this broad limitation, however, students can be helped to gain confidence in themselves, to participate in activities which give them increased competence, and to survey their own capacities realistically to identify deficiencies and learn how to remedy them.

6. *A constant concern with the continuance of his own education throughout life.*

Nobody would deny the importance of lifelong learning but there is a great difference between understanding its significance and putting it into practice. The lawyer is not above the law, the doctor must conform to the rules of health, the priest lives by the laws of his faith, and the educator of adults must continue to learn. More than other men, he should plan and execute a continuous program of self-education. If he fails to do so, the consequences are serious. He limits his own growth, he becomes a sham, his work grows mechanical and perfunctory, and he ceases to have the personal insight he needs into the rewards and the difficulties inherent in the educative process. His professional education must instill in him an awareness of his own need to continue to learn and it should aid him to understand how to do so.

program

The program which is designed to accomplish these goals must provide both a central core of common experiences to achieve the necessary unity of conceptions and values, and a marked flexibility to meet the distinctive needs of each individual. The professor of adult education must not be only a teacher of classes, important though that is. He must also be a counselor, helping every student to find the courses and other experiences which will give him breadth and develop his potentialities. He must create a social environment among all the students of adult education, such that they can stimulate and assist each other. Finally, and most significant of all, he must exemplify in his teaching and in his behavior and practice, the principles he is trying to help his students achieve.

The specific combination of learning experiences developed by each university is unique to it, but most programs contain the following basic elements:

1. Courses in the nature, philosophy, history, and processes of adult education.

2. Courses in the principles of education which are common to both childhood and maturity.

3. Courses selected from other departments of the university to meet

the student's distinctive pattern of needs and interests.

4. Participation in continuing seminars composed of all of the students in the program and directed by them.

5. Reading of both basic books with which all educators of adults should be familiar and the special materials which each student needs for his own purposes.

6. Special tutorial work in which the student receives individual instruction from a member of the faculty.

7. Writing a major report or thesis.

8. Taking written or oral comprehensive examinations.

9. Assisting a faculty member in research or service project.

10. Informal discussion and work with colleagues who are also pursuing a program of advanced study.

11. Attendance at lectures, conferences, workshops, demonstrations, film showings, and other activities which form an important part of the intellectual environment of the university.

12. Individual conferences with faculty members.

13. Visiting and studying the programs of adult education in the community, state or region in which the university is located.

14. Participating in adult educational conferences within the community, state or region.

15. Undertaking supervised work in an adult educational agency.

The Co-operative Extension Service must be singled out as a special case, chiefly because of its size, its unique tradition of service, and the coordinated character of its operation. It is the only agency of adult education which has achieved sufficient stature and stability to permit it to recruit at least some of its staff during their undergraduate days and to provide pre-service training as a part of the regular college curriculum. Most of those who enter Extension must still be given their training on an in-service basis, but the practice of including undergraduate courses or sequences of courses designed to prepare for service in Extension is spreading rapidly in the land-grant colleges.

The undergraduate training activities for persons wishing to enter Extension are intended to aid its staff members to secure efficiently and quickly the basic skills they need in their first assignments. It does not, however, provide a substitute for graduate programs. Extension workers, particularly those in supervisory and administrative positions, need a broad perspective just as much as do those engaged in other forms of adult educational service. Even where this advanced work is provided especially for Extension workers by the land-grant colleges, central attention is given to the achievement of the kinds of broad aims outlined above.

the future

Sometimes it is argued or assumed that the present state of affairs is merely the normal situation in a new and rapidly growing field. The doctors had to build a substantial body of practice and belief before medical schools could be established, and other forms of professional training have always followed a similar course of development. In this view, the present work in the field is preliminary. Gradually, out of the varied and random activities of to-day, there will emerge a body of knowledge and tested principle which will form the basis for a clear-cut and comprehensive course of study. Young people will begin to prepare, relatively early in their childhood, for positions of leadership in adult education. The classic sequence of selection, training, induction, and in-service education will be worked out in this field as it has been elsewhere.

Argument by analogy, in this case as in so many others, leads to drastic over-simplification—or so, at least, is the thesis of this paper. Those who occupy positions of responsibility in adult education form a far more complicated pattern than do those who practice the traditional professions. In fact, the educators of adults belong, at least potentially, not to a single profession but to a family of professions. Furthermore, we do not have to wait for the future to produce a body of knowledge and tested principles as a focus for a professional curriculum; as the previous pages have shown, at least the rudiments of this body of knowledge are already in existence and are being studied by substantial numbers of people. As large and stable programs come into being, they will offer assured careers for young people and the pattern now exemplified by the Co-operative Extension Service will be duplicated. Even when this happens, however, the final effect will merely enlarge the numbers of those who eventually seek graduate professional education.

The universities are only beginning to serve those who seek to build careers in the field of adult education. While the general shape of that field is no longer as obscure as it used to be, it still has many dark corners, and with the passing years it will continue to grow and change. Many of the fundamental principles which underlie successful theory and practice have still to be discovered, in part because we do not yet know how to put the questions which will produce the answers we need. The universities must accept their share of the challenge presented by the new field. They can do so most significantly by broadening and deepening their efforts to educate its emerging leadership.

discussion

Paul Bergevin

Indiana and Purdue Universities:

I would like to divide my comments about the paper into two parts: (1) those things I think are particularly significant and sound from my point of view, and (2) those things that might be open to some question as far as I see the picture.

I particularly liked the way Houle dealt with the idea of sound research and professional training based on this research. I was also particularly impressed with his "pyramid" idea. This was skillfully handled, I thought. I feel that the whole paper is an excellent effort to clarify a number of points which are causing professional adult educators considerable concern.

On page 135 of the article he describes some principles which I believe we are to assume are the core of other disciplines. "Existence of a corps of persons trained . . . in such a way as to enforce conformity to its standards of behavior" should not, in my opinion, be included as a discipline in adult education. Perhaps I might have misunderstood this, but if he meant that all of these goals are to be included in adult education, then I feel that my criticism is justified. The very nature of our work as a continuing learning process seems to me to be quite different from that of some other disciplines. The fluid and continuing nature of our work is such that we should never develop a corps of persons who would "enforce conformity". It seems to me that this denies the evolutionary nature of society's development. Those of us who stand in the way of this nature are going to injure our profession.

Along this same line of thought, I note that he says, "Even with Extension workers, the pattern is more in the process of becoming than of being." It again appears to me that Houle implies that we need discipline which is static, not dynamic. I know that he doesn't feel this way, but this was my impression when reading this part of the paper.

I think the use of the Co-operative Extension Service as an example is sort of overdone. I am presently engaged in county extension service. Their problem certainly is adult education, but when we use this group as an example we are pointing up a specialized, mainly vocational endeavor. Certainly I am not opposed to this aspect of adult education. I do feel, however, that pointing up a successful vocational program might lead some readers to believe that measurable success is limited to the so-called "materialistic" approach. We've got too much of this kind of thinking.

Robert J. Blakely

Fund for Adult Education:

Professor Houle rightly says, "The leader of adult education must understand the breadth and variety of his field and accept the fact that it includes countless aims and approaches. He also needs to develop his own set of values which will enable him to select the activities he wishes to undertake and guide him in building the program for which he is responsible." But viable multiplicity needs more than a collection of personal philosophies hospitable to variety and serviceable in particular ways. It needs also an over-arching philosophy which justifies, disciplines, and harmonizes multiplicity. I think, therefore, that the professional education for educators of adults needs to strive for a philosophy of the profession, for "Profession means an avocation whose activities are subjected to theoretical analysis and are modified by theoretical conclusions derived from that analysis. This analysis has regard to the purposes of the avocation and to the adaptation of the activities for the attainment of those purposes . . . the purposes of a profession are not a simple bundle of definite ends. There is a general purpose . . . There has in every case to be a selection of ends dependent partly on intrinsic importance if attained, and partly upon practicality of attainment." (Whitehead) In striving for this professional philosophy or theoretical analysis in adult education, there will never be agreement, but there will be much clarification badly needed today.

Houle's pyramid vividly illustrates that the professional adult educator's chief role is to help other leaders—paid persons and volunteers concerned with the education of adults if not with adult education—do better and more significant jobs. The leaders of the adult education movement a generation ago are sometimes referred to today as "gifted amateurs". What should be the relationship between the professional adult educator and the "gifted amateur"? This depends on what the professional values. If he values prestige and recognition, he will shun the "gifted amateur" with whom in many ways he is not able to compete. Adult education and our society will thereby lose the leadership and contributions of those with great talent and stature.

If, however, the professional adult educator prides himself on his ability to elicit accomplishments from others, he will feel no such competition: He will be doing what he can do best, which is to help others do what they can do best. Adult education in this sense is more like the arts than like the sciences. No one wants to entrust his health to an amateur, however gifted. But in the arts the amateur is frequently at least the peer of the professional.

Finally, "Amen" to Houle's paragraph on the objective of instilling in the educator of adults "a constant concern with the continuance of his own education throughout life".

This is the touchstone. Only a person who is himself growing is able to help others to grow, whether the others be the weak, the ignorant, and the unfortunate or the strong, the learned, and the privileged.

Watson Dickerman

University of Michigan:

Professor Houle's purpose in this article, he says, is to identify for adult educators some of the central ideas around which the universities are building their programs of service to this new profession. It strikes me that he has done this and done it well. He has unerringly high-lighted the important points, stated them forthrightly, and developed them clearly. And he writes in such a way as to provoke thought in the reader.

Take his phrase in the next-to-the last paragraph, "the educators of adults belong, at least potentially, not to a single profession but to a family of professions." We all know this. But it is a pithy reminder of a difficulty which confronts the AEA-USA and all efforts at joint action among adult educators. And it leads me to wonder a bit about the position of professional courses in adult education in our universities.

Such courses are usually concentrated in schools of education. Yet we believe they are useful to students in some of the other professional schools on the campus and to persons employed in these other professions. Are such courses less accessible to students and employed persons of other professions because the courses are offered by the professional school of a single profession, namely, the school of education? Might they be more accessible, psychologically and physically, if they were offered by some central agency? For example, a committee for graduate work in applied social sciences?

Of course the professional schools in question do and will continue to offer their own courses in adult education, though rarely under that name. Indeed, Houle says, "The total university curriculum of the future must contain courses in adult education in all those divisions of the institution which prepare workers who will have a part-time (Why not also full-time? —W.D.) responsibility in that field. Among these divisions are: the school of education, the library school, the college of commerce, the theological seminary, the department of nursing, and the school of social work." (I hasten to add the school of public health, the department of speech, the school of natural resources, and the school of journalism.)

As this becomes more common, may there not be considerable duplication among the courses in adult education offered by the several professional schools? Might not this lend weight to the question in the second paragraph above about a central committee to offer courses in adult education? Are there certain principles and skills likely to be found in most of the courses in adult education offered by the several professional schools which could be shifted to the course or courses offered by the central committee, permitting the courses offered by the several professional schools to stress matters which are unique to them? And could such a central committee develop experimental courses of interest to students in the several professional schools but of insufficient interest to any one professional school to justify its own course?

Might not this save quite a bit of money and break new ground? I don't know, but it makes interesting speculation.

Paul L. Essert

Teachers College, Columbia University:

Typical of anything Professor Houle puts his hand to, this article is a splendid and scholarly piece of work. I think so well of it that I would like to have reprints made for me to use with my students and others who inquire about professional education.

Apart from my general enthusiasm for the article, the only modification I would make would be in the wording of the following sentence: "The professor who must face a class composed of people who range in interest and concern from full-time staff members of a university extension division through a group of evening school teachers and general-service librarians to an assortment of volunteer lay leaders will have an impossible task before him." If Houle had said, "a very difficult if not an impossible task," he would, I believe, have been on safer ground.

My only reason for this precaution is that there are many universities in which this situation still exists, and many instances where it should not be discouraged as a part of a transitional and developmental process. I am sure that Houle would agree with this on the whole. In fact, it is thoroughly feasible to bring part-time and full-time people together in certain types of professional education in which the distinctions do not make as much difference as he seems to imply.

There are also other situations in which volunteers, part-time workers, and specialists can be brought together for the mutual benefit of each. If Houle had said that all three groups should not have the same curriculum or program of studies, I would be in definite agreement. Since, however, he says that all three groups should not be trained by the same activity, I believe my comments are applicable.

But even as the article stands, I am enthusiastic about it.

Andrew Hendrickson

Ohio State University:

I think Professor Houle has given an excellent description of the present status of adult education as a profession and an equally good analysis of the problems facing the adult educators responsible for developing training programs. His outlines of objectives and desirable learning experiences in programs of professional training will be useful as models for colleges and universities wishing to initiate or to improve a program. Certainly few, if any, institutions are now practicing all of these things in the way that Professor Houle describes them. It can be expected, of course, that these statements of goals and training procedures will be modified with experience just as similar early statements about the aims of elementary and secondary education have been.

As much as I admire the size and quality of the job being done in adult education by the Agriculture Extension Service, I have difficulty in accepting Houle's designation of the training program for extension agents as a kind of model for adult educators to look to. Too many graduates of agricultural colleges return to the universities after being a few years in the field complaining of their lack of training in methods necessary to work with their adult clients. They have been well taught in their narrow specialties of agronomy, poultry science, animal husbandry, etc., but have received little or no training in group methods or in the principles and practices of adult education.

Houle's suggestions that we emulate the agriculture colleges in enlisting students in their undergraduate years where they begin their specialization and continue their professional education through their graduate and in-service training activities is in conflict with his earlier suggestion that professional training in adult education is properly placed at the graduate level because it is advanced instruction, is complex, and presupposes a considerable measure of self-direction on the part of the student. Furthermore, when one notes from Houle's enrollment figures that most trained adult educators land in important executive positions where they direct activities of other adult educators, there is a strong argument in favor of the broadest kind of professional training. This training, in turn, should be more valuable if it is based on a foundation of liberal arts education.

Abbott Kaplan

University of California (Los Angeles):

Professor Houle's article provides an excellent overview of the problems involved in the professionalization of adult education. It further defines the objectives of a professional program of graduate training for adult educators and outlines a program by which they can be achieved.

It is an extremely useful statement. I should like to raise several aspects of the problem, however, which require further consideration. It would appear to me that the professional adult educator must himself exemplify the objectives of adult education, i.e., the development of the well-educated adult (a cultivated, informed, effective human being and citizen). Space does not permit further elaboration of what constitutes an effective, well-educated adult, but most of us would probably be able to arrive at agreement as to what a well-educated person is.

Will the graduate program of training, as suggested by Houle, produce the well-educated, as well as the well-trained, educator? I suggest that both are essential. I further believe that the typical graduate program in adult education will not alone produce that kind of person.

Now it may be argued that a professional program cannot do everything, that its primary task is to develop mastery of a defined body of knowledge and training in such skills as are necessary to apply that knowledge. This is perfectly true; but even in other professional programs the graduate or professional part of the program is an apex, based on considerable undergraduate and secondary school education, a good part of which is directed toward the apex. It is for this reason, for example, that there is considerable concern currently in the science and engineering faculties over the fact that the secondary schools do not have enough science and math teachers and are not turning out enough adequately trained students in those areas to qualify for later specialization in mathematics, engineering, and the physical sciences. It is therefore important not only to be concerned with the nature of the graduate or professional program, but with the preparatory steps leading up to it as well.

This is particularly true of adult education. First, it is an extremely broad field dependent upon many disciplines and areas of research. Second, the career fields for which it trains are many and diverse. Third, many of the administrative positions in adult education are responsible for a wide range of subjects and interests. For these reasons, among others, the adult educator, of all professional people, must be broadly educated. In short, he should be the generalist par excellence. This suggests broad, liberal pre-professional training. In view of the fact that most professional programs in adult education follow the traditional school of education pattern and require considerable undergraduate and pre-doctoral work in education, the possibility of securing a broad background is limited.

As for those who have happened into the field and are actually engaged in adult education, but come back to the university for more professional training, if we are to develop professionals who are both well educated and well trained, great flexibility should be possible so that programs can be tailored to individual needs. It should be possible to program their graduate studies to fill gaps or inadequacies in their backgrounds, whether in the strictly adult education areas or in other substantive areas or disciplines.

I suggest the above warrants further consideration and discussion.

Burton W. Kreitlow

University of Wisconsin:

My contact with programs of professional education for workers in the Cooperative Extension Service leads me to react from that vantage point. Professor Houle raises two issues of special concern and they should be given considerable study before any final directions are charted. First, to what extent should professional adult education omit techniques and methods and emphasize "more basic capacities"; and second, to what extent should each of the major agencies of adult education develop its own program for the advanced training of its professional personnel? In both instances Houle supports a point of view which could limit the rate of maturity of the profession. The alternatives should be examined.

An agriculture extension agent who uses "spit and sputter" methods of working with adults may have sufficient professional drive to complete a year of advanced work at the University of Wisconsin. If we should place the emphasis on increased understanding of adults and the other objectives identified by Houle, and accept his relegation of skills and methods to a minor role, as he does in item 4, then we would indeed turn out a finished product who can only "spit and sputter" at a higher level. Methods and techniques are but the tools to accomplish that which needs doing. Just as a program of advanced work needs to broaden the individual, it likewise needs to bring to an equal level of competence those tools by which he expects to accomplish the broader aims he may have developed.

There is some evidence in Houle's report that he desires each of the divisions of a university to establish its own battery of courses in adult education. He suggests that the various groups of adult educators should not be trained by the same activity. Both of these suggestions appear divisive in character.

How can we broaden the understanding of the potentialities of the profession with the right hand and place it in a strait jacket within its own subject matter discipline with the other? Would not a sounder approach be to provide a strong core of adult education professional courses in its logical place in the university, the school of education? With a strong core provided in the school of education or jointly between the school of education and other departments, real breadth of understanding can be developed. The students with their variety of backgrounds will aid in providing that depth. It is not impossible to bring greater understanding of purposes and curriculum of the adult education profession in a class composed of agricultural agents, nurses, labor union educators, librarians, and vocational school teachers. In fact, that is the ideal medium in which most of Houle's objectives will have the greatest opportunity to be achieved.

The several divisions of the University may well develop special courses for their own personnel, but unless the entire population of adult educators undergoing advanced education have a chance to work and study together at some point in their training, we can't expect them to work together in the community.

This type of program is developing at Wisconsin. All students in the National Center for Advanced Study in Agriculture and Home Economics Extension take their adult education courses in the school of education. So do those in preparation for positions in general extension, those interested in adult education from the school of commerce, and those from the school of nursing. We believe it should be that way. We believe it provides the broadening experiences suggested and shows adult educators that there is more to the profession than teaching their own subject matter specialty.

Jack London

University of California (Berkeley):

Professor Houle has provided us with a clear-cut analysis of the graduate program in adult education at the University of Chicago. This is a valuable contribution toward initiating a national discussion of the character and problems of professional education for educators of adults. While the author posits some broad issues and generalizations without critically examining their implications, the usefulness of this article will be fully established if it causes some of the professionals in adult education to think through and come to grips with some of the crucial issues arising out of an evaluation of their own programs specifically and graduate professional education generally. I feel that the professionals in adult education have a particularly important responsibility to carry on a discussion of this kind in the ensuing months and years to provide a basis for some critical thinking about the total adult education movement in this country.

While there is a strong temptation to discuss Houle's paper as a whole, in the brief space allotted to each discussant I will only be able to discuss a few items which are of greatest interest to me. My first observation is that professional education for educators of adults should be cast in an inter-disciplinary pattern. While Departments of Education have assumed the responsibility of providing the requisite education for professionals in adult education, and are the most logical departments to provide such specialization, it doesn't follow that the adult educator must become competent in all areas of education as a prerequisite to specializing in adult education. It would be a tragic mistake to proliferate requirements in education, as well as courses in adult education, as is the usual pattern, at the expense of being able to advise students to strengthen their backgrounds by taking additional work in other departments of the university, particularly in the social sciences. This comment implies the task of systematically outlining the various disciplines and subject matter areas which impinge upon the work of an adult educator, and to supply those perspectives through work in various departments of the university that will develop understanding of the nature of man and society and of the crucial role of adult education in a democratic, mass, industrial society.[1]

I feel that students need more guidance than merely stating that courses should be selected from other departments to meet the student's needs and interests. A serious mistake in counseling students is to recommend a few isolated courses to them and expect these students, by some stroke of genius or magic, to provide the integration of such scattered bits and pieces of knowledge and perspective. I'm not suggesting over-specialization, because this is also an evil which renders the student incapable of thinking of the total situation or problem, and thus makes it difficult or impossible to develop the necessary brew that makes our knowledge of man and society meaningful. My own position is to urge students to take a carefully planned block of courses in a particular discipline closely relevant to adult education, and because of my own perspective and professional training in sociology, the recommendation is usually to take such work in the Department of Sociology.[2] My objective is to give students an opportunity to become familiar with the concepts, tools of analysis, and perspectives in sociology which will be valuable in their work in adult education. It is my own conviction that sociology provides the most comprehensive understanding of the nature of man and society, and that such understanding is the most crucial part of the background of the adult educator. Gaining an understanding of man and society within the broad scope of adult education must be the first and major objective of a graduate program, rather than acquiring skill in methods and techniques.

Graduate training in adult education must provide opportunities to gain some familiarity with experience in social research. I would be utterly opposed to eliminating the requirement of a dissertation for a higher degree, as some professors of adult education have advocated. Even the practitioner must be able to interpret research in order to use its findings. Practitioners often have many wonderful opportunities to undertake research studies because of their access to data that may be denied to outsiders.[3] Unfortunately, many students, including professors, have become frightened by the idea of research and have developed mental blocks to pursuing research inquiries following the acquisition of their graduate degrees. Part of the cause of this prevailing fear is the inadequate teaching of research methods and attitudes toward research, and the common belief that a scientific study in the social sciences must use statistical techniques—a belief that I believe is utterly false. There is a failure to recognize that the problem selected for study must determine the tools of analysis rather than the techniques determining the problem. I have mentioned research here because even a casual examination of the field of adult education reveals that there has been significantly little research undertaken in the field, and this constitutes one of the major weaknesses of the adult education movement. This situation must be remedied if adult education is to develop and grow commensurately with the need for it in the free, democratic societies of the West. While adult educators are profiting from research undertaken in other disciplines,[4] professional adult educators must also undertake research to a far greater extent than in the past, and also encourage other social scientists to pursue inquiries in adult education.

Another area of interest to me is one of the objectives of the graduate program mentioned by Professor Houle—that individuals enrolled in graduate schools must be concerned with developing a philosophy that includes a commitment to a continuance of one's own education throughout life. The importance of this objective is seldom realized and carried into practice, as Houles states. Even in the area of higher education, we find many professors who are content with their own scope of knowledge and coast along with little or no concern for further intellectual growth. When we find it in adult education, it becomes a crucial liability, because a basic goal of adult education is to induce and even inspire adults to develop a life-long interest in learning. It is seldom possible for individuals to inspire and counsel students, whether they be youth or adults, to develop this attitude toward intellectual growth when their own enthusiasm for learning and ideas is less than adequate. It should be obvious that acquiring a degree is only the first step in a life-long pursuit of inquiry into the nature of the world and of man. A leader in adult education, as Houle defines it, must be a well educated person who is continuously at work at his own development and growth.

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[1] One area of research that must be undertaken by the Professors of Adult Education, in particular, is to identify the knowledge, insights, and the philosophical and theoretical perspectives that will contribute importantly to the education of leaders in adult education.

[2] A growing number of Departments of Education are employing on their faculties sociologists who can provide some of the training suggested here.

[3] See Everett C. Hughes, "The Study of Institutions," *Social Forces*, XX (March, 1942), 307, 310. "It is impossible to make an analysis of an institution without having access to the data which will reveal its inner workings."

[4] It is assumed, but has not been clearly established, that adult education is a distinct discipline. This is an additional important area of research for professors to undertake.

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some common interests of adult education leaders

Thurman White
Dean, Extension Division University of Oklahoma

Perhaps the most striking characteristic of the field of adult education is the independence of the activities within it. Although some activities are tied together by affiliation with some sponsoring agency, there are literally thousands of programs which seem totally unrelated to one another. In a chapter entitled "The Adult Educational Jumble", Adams has written:

> When I first began to examine the literature on adult education expertly recommended to me, I had much the same feeling of suffocating helplessness which a parachutist may experience when he has dropped from the skies alone and landed in an impenetrable jungle. To mention only some of the flora, so to say, which first met my eye, there was an entire shelf full of nice little books, each dealing with some topic somehow related to adult education, but the topics seemed wholly unrelated to each other. Then I tried to get a bird's eye view so as to survey all these things as an integrated whole, and I read Miss Mary L. Ely's excellent *Adult Education in Action,* a volume of well on to five hundred pages with a hundred and sixty-three chapters, sections, or what have you, by almost as many authors. We may mention, wholly at haphazard, a few of the headings: "Denver's Opportunity School", "A Thousand Little Theaters", "Hull House", "A Hobo School in a Western Railroad Yard", "The Deeper Significance of Radio", "A Self-Taught Boy", "Church Nights in a Suburban Church", "Training on the Job", and "The Importance of Service Stations". Again, we began to reach frantically for an "integrated whole". We wondered what the book really was about and were rather re-

lieved when, towards the end of Charles Beard's Foreword, we read that it was "a mosaic out of discrete contributions".

It was indeed, but after reading a good many more volumes, it dawned on me that that was precisely what adult education was. It is as broad as human life itself, and life, most assuredly, is "a mosaic made out of discrete (if not always discreet) contributions.[1]

The great variety of educational programs is a result then of a great variety of "discrete contributions". They express the educational interest of a great number of diverse organizations, which in a sense represent and foster the American tradition of individual freedom. Any person or group may start an educational program and qualified persons are free to participate according to their interests. However, a system of independently operated educational programs has three important weaknesses.

The first weakness is the secondary position which the educational program frequently holds in an over-all organizational program. The effort to provide learning opportunities is often a marginal interest of an organization, and may even be used as a means for furthering some other organizational purpose. For example, some of the early workers' educational programs appeared to be designed more for the election of certain pro-labor public officials than for growth in total civic participation. In such cases individual learner needs are often relegated to a position of secondary importance and, if in conflict with the primary organizational objectives, may be completely overlooked.

The second weakness lies in the duplication of activities by several agencies. Some duplication results from the complete ignorance which leaders have of one another's programs. It is not at all unusual to find that a dozen organizations in a community with a common objective, such as "to improve home and family living", are unfamiliar with each other's activities. Competition for clients or financial support often results. As a protection against overlapping and duplicating programs, some communities have turned to a "community chest" financing technique.

Wasteful as competitive and duplicating programs may be, perhaps even more regrettable is the third weakness: The omission of important learning opportunities. Individual organizations, while operating strong programs, usually leave voids in filling certain needs which a well coordinated system of adult education could remedy.

An approach to the problem is the cooperative training of adult education leaders. Almost a decade ago, according to Van Sant, Cyril O. Houle called attention to the need for a common base in adult education leadership. He commented that:

> Adult-educators have come into the professional field of adult education from such a variety of unrelated backgrounds that they have difficulty in understanding each other. This had led to a great duplication of effort and a needless search over the same problems rather than a cooperative approach based on an accepted common base from which to proceed. Perhaps this would not be such a handicap if it were possible to approach the areas of

need at a leisurely pace. But events are rushing pell-mell into an era of vast expansion of adult education, and decisions have to be made and programs established in the pressing present.[2]

Now, is cooperative training feasible? It is, you may say, if the various leaders want it. And therein lies the problem. What is "it"? What, in other words, do the various leaders want in the way of training? What are their interests? Unless the various leaders want the same thing, a program in which they will all cooperate is improbable. On the other hand, if it can be demonstrated that they have a common core of interests, the possibility of joint effort is considerably enhanced. This is the story of such a demonstration. What follows is a report of a study which isolated a few in-service training topics in which adult education leaders have a high degree of common interest.[3]

First, some definitions:

1. Training interests—refers to those aspects of the educational program in which adult education leaders would like to have additional learning in order to improve their performance in their programs.

2. Adult education program — a series of organized learning activities in which mature people purposefully participate on a part-time basis for the satisfaction of individual needs.

3. Adult education agency—any institution, association, club, or group that provides an adult education program.

4. Leaders—directors, supervisors, committee chairmen, coordinators, and other persons directly responsible for an adult education program.

methodology of the study

The purpose of the study required the development of special techniques. No other study had previously made a direct attack upon the professional improvement interests of adult education leaders. The first requirement was to make a decision as to topics on which the leaders would express their training interests. The procedure adopted for making this decision was as follows: (1) Review of the literature for knowledge required of leaders of adult education programs; (2) review of the literature for suggestions concerning a suitable methodology for use in the investigation; and (3) further reference to the writings of specialists and to a panel of adult education practitioners for suggestions on the specific content and form. By this procedure it was determined that in order for the topics to adequately cover the problems of program management, it would be necessary for the leaders to have an opportunity to express their interests in 14 general subject matter areas. These 14 areas are:

1. Program purposes
2. Community analysis
3. Psychology of adult learning
4. Staff
5. Recruitment and morale
6. Methods
7. Materials
8. Facilities
9. Equipment
10. Budget and finance
11. Public relations
12. Policy and control
13. Records and reports
14. Appraisal and evaluation

The procedure also revealed the rank order method as suitable to the purposes of the study. The use of this method made it possible for the individuals and the leader sample to evaluate their interests in the various topics and rank them according to the degree of interest in each. The rank order method yielded data from which it was possible to make an inter-group comparison for each topic and also an inter-topic comparison. It was thus possible to isolate a core of topics in which the leaders had the greatest amount of common interest.

The content and form of the inventories used in the investigation were finally determined by reference to the writings of specialists and a panel of adult education practitoners. In order for the leader sample to express its interest in as natural a way as possible, it seemed desirable for the topics to be stated in the form of objectives and for the total inventory situation to resemble the selection of course objectives. The topics were stated in a form recommended by a recognized curriculum specialist. Each topic was mimeographed on a 3 x 5 card with a different color card used in each of three inventories. The number of topics included in an inventory was consistent both with the recommendation of a recognized psychometric authority and with the nature of the content being investigated. The 14 general categories made it advisable to use a multiple of 14 and the inventories each contained 28 topics.

The inventories contained specific topics which had been originally drawn from three sources: (1) The investigator's experience; (2) the rankings of adult education specialists; and (3) conferences with adult education practitioners. Out of his own experience and from an examination of various writings, the investigator prepared a list of more than 200 topics. These were approximately evenly distributed among the 14 general categories. A panel of nine adult education practitioners were then asked to vote upon the topics of most importance and to make additional suggestions. From the original list, additional suggestions, and conferences with the panel of practitioners, a final list of 112 topics was prepared. The topics were then randomly assigned from the 14 categories to four inventories. The decision to use three inventories instead of four and the refinement of administrative procedures were made during a series of eight trial administrations.

During the trial administrations, it was determined that adult education leaders would willingly perform the ranking task on the three inventories. Also, during the trial administrations, it was determined that the ranking behavior could be readily obtained by the use of the following instructions:

> Here are twenty-eight topics for a class of adult education leaders. If you were in such a class, which of these topics would be most interesting to you? Please place the most interesting on top. the second most interesting next, and so forth on down to the least interesting on the bottom. There is no correct order; different topics are interesting to different people; just put the cards in the order that suits you. Use the back of this card to suggest any topics which would be important to you but are not

included in this or one of the other sets of cards.

The trial administrations further served as an opportunity for perfecting an interview routine. A three-part routine was adopted as follows: (1) Establishing rapport by identification of the interview purpose, recalling any previous meeting with the interviewee, and discussing the program managed by the interviewee; (2) giving the predetermined instructions and observing the interviewee sort one of the inventories; and (3) discussing generally the interviewee's personal qualifications and background. One inventory was always ranked in the presence of the investigator; the other two were sometimes ranked in his presence and sometimes returned to him in a self-addressed envelope furnished for that purpose.

After determining the content and form of the inventories to be used in the investigation and polishing the interview routine, attention was given to the reliability and validity of the inventories. Each of the inventories was re-ranked by 10 adult education practitioners after an interval of one month. The median coefficient of rank correlation obtained for the inventories was as follows: Inventory A, .813; Inventory B, .812; and Inventory C, .808. After a consideration of the factors which might have influenced the second rankings, the reliability of the inventories was adjudged sufficient for the purposes of the investigation.

Both "face validity" and "presumptive evidence" were considered in the analysis of the validity of the inventories. The validity of the inventories was considered shown by: (1) the topics were judged to be suitable for a training program by adult education practitioners; (2) the leaders in the sample claimed to be ranking their interests in the topics; and (3) items which should have discriminated between the groups were found to have done so.

Following the development of a technique for obtaining expressions of interest, a technique was developed for obtaining a sample of adult education leaders. In selecting the sample considerable importance was attached to two considerations: (1) it would be possible to explore the interests of a relatively small number of adult education leaders, and (2) the purpose of the investigation required the exploration of interests among leaders of several of the wide variety of adult education programs.

The fact that the sample had to be limited to a small number meant that the requirements of the small sample theory would have to be satisfied. Since a simple random sample was impossible, it was necessary to find a statistical test of randomness. The test selected was the analysis of the variance. By this test, it is possible to obtain an estimate of the likelihood that individuals in several different groups are homogeneous with respect to a certain characteristic, and, hence, that they are from the same population. The analysis of variance was also a suitable technique for estimating the similarity of interests in a certain topic on the part of leaders from several adult education programs.

In order to avoid the extreme variability present in very small samples, it was determined that a minimum of 25 leaders was to be included in the sub-groups. It was then determined that the purpose of the study would be served by an exploration of the interests among leaders of four adult education programs.

With a view toward increasing confidence in the results of the study, it was decided to select four markedly different programs and to let chance play a principal role in the selection of the individuals included in each of the programs. Four of the programs most accessible to the investigator were: (1) American Association of University Women, (2) Public Schools, (3) Proprietary Schools, and (4) Personnel Training. An analysis was made of these programs with respect to the following six characteristics: (1) program content, (2) membership, (3) finance, (4) staff, (5) professional affiliations, and (6) leadership training. The analysis showed the programs to be markedly different.

The individuals within each were then selected for interviews upon a basis approaching randomness. Interviews were tentatively accepted with the first 40 volunteers from each program, and the first 25 inventories returned were accepted unless there was some reason for believing that the ranking performance was not according to instruction.

By these techniques data were collected from 100 adult education leaders with respect to their interests in in-service leadership training topics.

findings

The study showed that adult education leaders have a high common interest in the following topics:

1. To gain a better understanding of the basic needs which cause adults to participate in educational programs.
2. To gain a clearer insight into the changing interests of adults in vocations, religion, family, leisure time activities, health, and other areas of life.
3. To increase my ability to apply psychological principles to the selection of objectives.
4. To acquire techniques for relating our program more closely to the needs and interests of adults.
5. To acquire techniques for relating our program more closely to the general needs of the community.
6. To become more skillful in recognizing the community needs and resources that are important to adult education programs.
7. To develop a better understanding of the kinds of educational methods most suitable for mature people.
8. To develop a better understanding of the kinds of educational materials most suitable for mature people.
9. To become more familiar with procedures for "keeping up" with new developments and materials for adult education programs.

The presence of a common core of training interests among adult education leaders is of chief significance to the person who is concerned with the development of a leadership training program. The finding makes it clear that no agency has a monopoly on interests in many topics. The implication is that topical interests form a better basis for grouping than agency affiliation. A more homogeneous learning situation may be created by grouping the leaders according to their topical interests than by their agency affiliation.

The finding of a common interest core may also be of considerable importance to agencies which have the social responsibility for general leadership training. Such training agencies as universities may wish to give serious consideration to the fact that adult education leaders frequently want to learn about the same things and that association with a particular kind of program does not always lead to unique interests in self-improvement. The finding, in a sense, is a long step toward the removal of one of the barriers to offering general training programs for the adult education leadership.

The finding of a common interest core also offers an encouragement and inducement to the planning of community leadership training programs. The urban centers of America are liberally sprinkled with educational programs in which mature people participate. A visitor to almost any town will be told that "our town is very much over-organized". Almost without exception, each organization is jealous of its membership and its prestige. Each is proud of its success and satisfied that it is doing something unique. It will come as a surprise to many of the leaders of these varied organizations that they have common interests in certain fundamental subject matters. The findings of this study clearly imply that a cooperative training program organized around topical interests might be successfully undertaken at the community level. Considerable educational benefit can accrue to a community from a successfully conducted cooperative training program. By association with one another in a training program, leaders will tend to eliminate needless repetition of error, overlapping, and duplication of programs, and in some cases, needless duplication of research.

The finding of a relatively small number of common interests at a high level may serve as a caution against the initial organization of a too-ambitious in-service training program. The implication is that the initial plans for a cooperative in-service training program should make provision for the consideration of a relatively few topics. It is expected that other interests will be developed during the course and that these developed interests may serve as a basis for subsequent training programs. It should be noted in this connection that observers of other adult education programs have reported maximum participation in programs organized around six to 10 meetings. The core topics found in the study are ample for a program of these dimensions.

Of some importance to the science of education is the implication that the findings strengthen the concept of a field of adult education. The fact of common interests means that, if the barriers of special vocabularies and particular terms are surmounted, there is a common identity in the entire field. General recognition of adult education as a field in the science of education seems to be slowly forming. Locating and publishing similarities of interests is perhaps insufficient to bring about any widespread realization by adult education leaders that basically they are engaged in the same process. However, the evidence of interest commonality must be added to the other factors indicating the reality of a field of adult education.

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[1] *James Truslow Adams.* Frontiers of American Culture. *New York: Charles Scribners Sons, 1944, p. 128.*

[2] *Thomas A. Van Sant, "Time for Courage".* Adult Education Bulletin, *XI (Feb. 1947), 78.*

[3] *Thurman White.* Similarity of Training Interests among Adult Education Leaders, *Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950.*

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a review of professional preparation programs*

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The rapid expansion of adult education activities during the 1920's and 1930's introduced many people into a new kind of professional leadership position. These new adult educators desired professional training both for themselves and their staffs. Initially, requests for professional training were met by the establishment of in-service type programs, workshops, conferences, and seminars, usually held during the summer months. Such study opportunities were developed by many adult education operating agencies—often in cooperation with university extension divisions and university departments of education.

These early in-service training programs provided a stimulus to the development in schools of education of professional curricula leading to advanced degrees. In addition, university extension divisions improved and expanded opportunities for in-service training for the professional adult educator. Thus, universities through their schools of education and extension divisions came to provide leadership in training adult educators and developing content materials which are used by operating adult education agencies as well as by the universities.

The purpose of this study was, first, to identify institutions of higher learning whose departments or schools of education provide opportunities for professional study in adult education and, second, to analyze those study programs leading to advanced degrees in adult education. Although the importance of informal and specialized adult education activities and of training programs for their leaders was recognized, no detailed study was made of this phase of leadership training. Nor was any attempt made to evaluate the many non-credit course offerings or undergraduate curricula which provide general background to students preparing for adult education careers.

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*This article is adapted from the introductory and concluding portions of Mr. Svenson's doctoral thesis, "A Study of Professional Preparation Programs for Leaders in Adult Education Offered by Schools of Education". University of California, Los Angeles. June, 1954.

hypotheses

In observing that over the past 30 years there has been a substantial increase in the number of study opportunities for adult educators as well as in the number of positions for trained personnel, the following hypotheses were set forth:

1. There are well-defined training programs at the graduate level which provide opportunities for professional preparation in adult education.
2. There is a communicable body of knowledge covering the area of adult education in sufficient quantity and quality to justify a specialized program for graduate study designed for individuals working in a variety of adult education agencies.
3. Individuals who have been prepared for full-time positions in adult education through advanced degree programs in schools of education are working in a variety of agencies operating in this field.
4. There is both a need and a demand for professionally trained adult educators.

The methods used in the study included a review of the literature, establishment of criteria, development and administration of data collection instruments, an analysis of the data collected, and a statement of conclusions. The sources of data included professional publications and adult education administrators and instructional staff members of universities offering advanced degree programs in adult education.

summary of results

Fifty-three institutions were identified as offering some kind of professional study in adult education during the regular academic year. The 12 institutions classified as having the most fully developed curriculum offerings are all universities. They all offer introductory and advanced courses, opportunity for individual study, field work, graduate seminars, and thesis research which can be applied as a major field of concentration for the master's and doctor's degrees. Among these 12, however, there is variation in the quality and extent of their programs. Most of the institutions are developing plans for revision or expansion that when carried into effect should improve their training programs considerably.

In terms of the hypotheses tested, the following conclusions are drawn:

1. The first hypothesis, that there are well defined training programs at the graduate level which provide opportunities for professional preparation of adult educators, finds support in this study. However, the fact that so many institutions are revising or expanding their adult education training programs leaves a doubt in one's mind as to how comprehensively and

carefully these programs were developed by 1952-53, when the data for the study were collected. To answer this question adequately requires additional depth studies of each institution's program. There is evidence to support the expectation that the number of institutions with well-developed training programs in adult education at the graduate level will increase in the next few years.

2. The second hypothesis, that there is a communicable body of knowledge covering the area of adult education in sufficient quality and quantity to justify a specialized area for graduate study designed for individuals working in a variety of adult education agencies, found support in at least 19 institutions. Three institutions, however, specifically stated that they did not feel that there was then sufficient content to justify a "full-blown", specialized, graduate curriculm in adult education.

3. The third hypothesis stated: "Individuals who have been prepared for full-time positions in adult education through advanced degree programs in schools of education are working in a variety of agencies operating in this field."

Some evidence was found to support this hypothesis. However, it should be noted that only one institution had information that its graduates were holding leadership positions in more than four different adult education agencies. The remaining institutions which had some follow-up record of their advanced degree graduates indicated that the largest percentage found positions in only one type of adult education organization. In most instances this was either the public school or agricultural extension. However, the experience backgrounds of students participating in each institution's training program represented a wide variety of agencies.

This may mean that either departments of education are providing better and broader training in adult education or that adult education agencies are recognizing the importance of training programs which are now offered. It is hoped that both are true.

4. As was stated in the fourth hypothesis, there is both a need and a demand for professionally trained adult educators. Several institutions replied that they would need additional staff members for adult education teaching or administrative work. Other evidence, obtained through interviews, and the literature (particularly John R. Morton, *University Extension in the United States*, University of Alabama Press, 1953) indicated that requests for professionally trained staff members had been made by adult education agencies and were unfilled.

Some other conclusions made on the basis of this investigation were:

1. Most professors of adult education knew little about adult education training programs conducted in other institutions. (This has been remedied to some extent as a result of the Allerton House Conference of Professors of Adult Education held in May, 1955, and the establishment of a permanent AEA section of Professors of Adult Education.)

2. Leadership training in adult education is being conducted by many institutions and agencies other than departments or schools of education.

3. If an interdisciplinary approach

to the training of professional adult educators is accepted, many schools of education will have to change their present general departmental requirements before they can offer a well-developed adult education training program.

some implications of the study

The limited scope of present professional study programs in adult education raises certain questions regarding the role of the universities in this field. If universities are to assume leadership in providing professional training programs, more institutions will have to develop new programs and many of those in operation in 1952-53 needed re-examination and expansion. (This has occurred in some instances during the past three years.)

Many agencies provide some kind of professional training in adult education and there are many kinds of adult educators. Thus, in studying the total problem of preparing persons for leadership positions, each agency should determine its proper training function. The university with its professional schools should assume particular responsibility for this function and thus provide some guide lines for other agencies.

We should remember that professional training in adult education is still in the early stages of growth. But if it is to continue to expand, better lines of communication between training institutions and adult education agencies must be established.

The value of this kind of study is not in the data which it reports. Its major significance has to be assessed in terms of how adult educators react to the presentation of this information. Do professors of adult education ask themselves such questions as: What happens to students who go through my program? Are they better people as a result of this experience? What is their potential leadership in adult education? Have I given my students the kind of experience that will do them the most good?

Do other adult educators pause to reflect upon their own experiences and ask themselves: How qualified am I for the job I am doing? What experiences should I have in order to gain a better understanding of this field of adult education? Am I interested in learning for myself? Or do I just think it is a good idea for other people?

If we all consider questions such as these, we will have a much better chance of substantially improving the quality of leadership in our chosen profession.

INSTITUTIONS OFFERING PROFESSIONAL TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES IN ADULT EDUCATION

Classification 1: *Institutions Which Offer One or Two Courses in Adult Education:*

Alabama, University of
Florida A & M College
George Peabody College for Teachers
Hunter College of the City of N. Y.
Kansas, University of
Kansas City, University of
Muncipal University of Omaha
New Mexico Western College
North Carolina College at Durham
Sacramento State College

San Francisco State College
San Francisco, University of
Tufts College
Wayne University

Classification 2: *Institutions Which Have a Limited But Often Expanding Training Program in Adult Education:*

Buffalo, University of
California, University of (Berkeley)
City College of the City of N. Y.
Denver, University of
Florida State University
George Williams College
Michigan State University
Minnesota, University of
New Mexico, University of
Pennsylvania State University
Pittsburgh, University of
Texas Technological College
Texas, University of
Virginia, University of
Wyoming, University of

Classification 3: *Institutions Which Allow Research for Doctor's Thesis To Be Conducted in Adult Education:*

Harvard University
Missouri, University of
Oregon State College
Southern California, University of
Stanford University
State College of Washington
Syracuse University
Texas Christian University
Washington, University of
Western Reserve University
Yale University
Yeshiva University

Classification 4: *Institutions Which Offer Several Courses, Opportunity for Supervised Individual Study and Research, and Both the Master's and Doctor's Degree with a Major in Adult Education:*

California, University of (Los Angeles)
Chicago, University of
Teachers College, Columbia University
Cornell University
George Washington University
Indiana University
Maryland, University of
Michigan, University of
New York University
Ohio State University
State University of Iowa
Wisconsin, University of

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Publications of

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

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Scientists at Work

Themes and Variations: An Invitation to Literature

Understanding Group Behavior

Ways of Mankind

Reports

***Administrative Policies and Practices of Evening Colleges.* 1953.**

Why Students Drop Out: A Research Report

How Much Does Adult Experience Count? An Interim Report of the Brooklyn College Experiment

Adults Grow in Brooklyn. Report Number 2 of the Brooklyn College Experiment

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Education·Adult

notes and essays on education for adults

number

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RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

Liberal Education

Summary of a Discussion by the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching

AND

Implications for University Adult Education

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

[redacted]

center for the study of liberal education for adults
4819 greenwood avenue · chicago 15, illinois

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults.

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THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Publications of the Center are listed on the back covers, with information as to how they may be obtained.

RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

LIBERAL EDUCATION

Summary of a Discussion by the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching (from the 1955-56 Annual Report)

AND

Implications for University Adult Education

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
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[redacted]
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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

September 1957

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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PROLOGUE

For more than a half century the vigorous and continuing debate in higher education has been general versus specialized education, liberal versus vocational and professional education. No meeting of educators has failed to have some discussion centered on this strong difference of opinion among those responsible for the conduct of our colleges and universities.

Recently, however, there has been a substantial shift in the debate. The discussion now is not on general or special education, but rather on how much of each and how it is to be incorporated into the curriculum. The technical and engineering schools which have been the most vigorous champions of special education are adding courses in the humanities and social sciences to their already crowded programs. The professional schools have steadily added to the requirements of general and liberal education as a prerequisite for admission to professional study and are recommending a greater concentration in liberal studies in place of technical subjects. Questions are being raised about the Ph.D. degree itself, with respect to its over-specialization and its professional emphasis at the expense of a broader and more general competence.

This shift in the point of view of both the partisans of liberal education and of the partisans of vocational and professional education appears to spring from the universal acceptance of two principles. First, citizens of a complex but free society require an increasing amount of general education so that they may assume their responsibilities in a complex and ever-changing society of which they are members. Secondly, special competence is required of a large proportion of our citizens so that an industrialized and urbanized society may function.

A further recognition on the part of the champions of vocational and professional education is the fact that the society and its institutions are in a constant state of flux and that the various professions and vocations are constantly changing in the demands which they make on professionally and vocationally trained individuals. Not only do the society and its institutions change, but so do the opportunities for the individual constantly vary;

therefore, a factor of adaptability and a capacity for generalization is becoming more and more a desired qualification of all highly educated and competent people.

One might summarize by saying that the argument today is not on general versus special education. It is not *what kind* of education is needed, but rather *how* and *within what time period* is it humanly and physically possible both to give a general and liberal education to students and at the same time to give them competence in a vocational or professional field. The curriculum in all institutions of higher education is already jammed, and institution after institution is seriously questioning the possibility of doing all that must be done for a student in the traditional four-year period. Further, the constant increase in knowledge and techniques adds to the burden of the curriculum and makes the four-year traditional program almost a physical impossibility. I am sure that nearly every educator would be most happy to provide a general liberal education and an excellent vocational or professional education for all students if he could find time available for serving these two purposes.

There is one line of consideration that has promise for solving the difficult problem of how it may be possible to accomplish all that is desired and at the same time not unduly prolong the period within formal higher education. This is the realization that the educational process cannot be discontinued at the time that the student receives a degree, but must be a continuing process throughout the active life of each individual. This has been recognized in many different ways, but particularly in vocational or professional education. The vast number of training programs within industrial organizations, the spreading programs of continuing education under the auspices of professional groups and associations, are evidence that those concerned with vocational and professional education recognize that continuing education is absolutely essential. Now a number of experimental courses in continuing liberal education for adults give evidence of the belief on the part of a number of highly placed business executives that liberal education, too, ought to continue through the active life of the individual.

It is with this view in mind that the staff of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults have prepared a commentary upon the deliberations of the Trustees of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching on the general subject of Liberal Education. They advance interesting ideas about the various means and techniques by which the opportunity for liberal education can be extended beyond the years of formal education and made an integral part of the institutional programs for the continuing education of adults.

JOHN SCHOFF MILLIS
President, Western Reserve University

At the 50th annual meeting of the Foundation, on November 16, 1955, the trustees engaged in an all-day discussion of the liberal arts and liberal education.

There follows a summary of the discussion which took place that day. Obviously, a brief summary must limit itself to the central themes and cannot possibly do justice to all of the views presented.

There was no attempt to arrive at a consensus on every point. Accordingly, the following statement is not presented as the views of the trustees of the Foundation, nor even as the views of all those present. It is simply an informal account of a significant discussion of one of the most pressing problems in higher education today.

In addition to the officers of the Foundation, the following trustees were present during the discussion: Raymond B. Allen, Oliver C. Carmichael, Carter Davidson, Harold W. Dodds, Laurence M. Gould, A. Whitney Griswold, Rufus C. Harris, William V. Houston, Thomas S. Lamont, Robert A. Lovett, Howard F. Lowry, N. A. M. MacKenzie, John S. Millis, Nathan M. Pusey, Herman B Wells, and Benjamin F. Wright.

Liberal Education

MUCH of the work in our colleges and universities is designed to equip the individual with professional or vocational skills of a specialist nature. Other parts of the college and university program are designed to produce not necessarily a more skilled professional but a better, wiser, more cultivated man. It is to this latter phase of the college program that we apply the term "liberal education."*

The enormous growth of new knowledge and techniques in the modern world, and the resulting demands for specialized skills, have led to a greater emphasis on vocational and professional education. Such specialist education is essential to our national life, but higher education will suffer an irreparable loss if it neglects those other portions of the curriculum that place the man before the occupation. Such neglect is fairly widespread today.

The liberal arts college, traditional home of liberal education, has been under pressure and competition from every side. The graduate professional school, for example, faced with the increasingly complex task of training for modern professional life, has sought to lighten its load by requiring that the student absorb some specialized training during his undergraduate years. This has often diminished the freedom of the college to determine its own undergraduate curriculum.

In addition, in modern universities the liberal arts college is ringed around by powerful undergraduate special schools which compete fiercely and successfully with it for students. The undergraduate schools of education and of business administration are the two outstanding examples of such successful competition, but there are many others—for example, engineering, agriculture, nursing, social work, journalism, and pharmacy. Some of these competitors make conscientious efforts to ensure some measure of liberal education for their students. Others do not.

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* We do not wish to argue terminology. We recognize that other terms (general education, the liberal arts) have been used in a similar context. We recognize, too, that the term "liberal education" has historical connotations which are hardly applicable in a modern context. The same may be said of most words of any interest or importance.

The liberal arts college in the large university is losing not only its students but many of its departments to the surrounding special schools. The department of economics often moves over to the school of business administration. The department of psychology sometimes drifts off to the school of education. The department of biology may find more ample funds in the college of agriculture. And so on. In most cases these shifts come about because the special schools find it easier to convince public or private donors of their practical value, and therefore easier to raise money.

The threats to liberal education have not all come from outside the liberal arts college. The modern trend toward specialization of knowledge has gone on within the liberal arts departments themselves, drawing them apart from one another. This, together with the excesses of the unbridled elective system, has resulted in a fragmentation of the curriculum which would have required remedial measures even without additional threats from outside. Caught in the whirlpool of increasing specialization, it was easy for the liberal arts departments to become professionalized, to be wholly concerned with the students who wished to specialize in their particular fields, and to catch the student as early as possible in order to plunge him into the rigorous training required by modern specialization. Thus, the liberal arts fields have tended to abandon their traditional responsibility for liberal education.

These pressures upon the liberal arts college and upon liberal education have left their mark upon the pattern of higher education in America. Students of comparative education have made a great deal of the fact that the European student goes directly from his precollege course into a professional or specialized course in the university, whereas the American student supposedly spends four undergraduate years in a liberal arts college before embarking on such a professional or specialist course.

This hardly reflects the situation in the United States today. The pressures of specialization have been such that a substantial proportion of American undergraduates embark on technical training in their first year in college. In some institutions this specialism is unmitigated. In others, it is alleviated by a required course in English or perhaps one in American history. In perhaps the majority of institutions there is an attempt to keep a liberal education emphasis in the first two years of college. Indeed, there seems to be a distinct move in this direction on the part of many institutions which have not done so in the past. But after the first two years, the emphasis upon specialization is very marked indeed. Only for a minority of students is the entire four-year undergraduate experience dominated by liberal education ideals.

So much for the pressures upon liberal education. They have led to vigorous efforts to counteract the onslaught of specialization. Over the nation, a very large number of institutions have experimented with various ways of strengthening liberal education to meet those fundamental needs of students which are not met by specialized education.

The Objectives of a Liberal Education

What are the goals of these new programs? Or to put the question more generally, what are the goals of a liberal education?

We shall attempt to be reasonably explicit on this question, but in doing so, we must keep in mind that it is possible only to list the goals toward which one might work. If this is done systematically, it results in an array of goals which must strike the reader as more than a little Utopian. When we assert that liberal education seeks to "prepare the student for life" or "to enable him to understand the world he lives in" we are being, unwittingly, rather pretentious. The goals of a liberal education are the goals of a lifetime, and few men achieve them. What one hopes to do in the course of a liberal education is to set the student well and firmly in pursuit of these goals. Having said these things, we may now go on to list three kinds of objectives which characterize a liberal education.

First, a liberal education seeks to provide the student with certain kinds of knowledge which every man is the better for possessing:

Self-knowledge—knowledge of his own biological and psychological nature, of his gifts and limitations, of his values and aspirations

Knowledge of others—a comprehension of the roots of human behavior as revealed both in modern scientific studies and in historical and literary sources

Knowledge of the physical and biological world

Knowledge of his own and other cultures—the nature of his own society and the place of that society in the larger world

A historical view of man's achievements, social, intellectual and artistic

Knowledge of his religious and philosophical heritage.

The second kind of objective may be summed up under the heading "skills" or "competences." The most important of these competences is variously described as "the ability to think clearly," "rigorous thought," "intellectual discipline," and so forth. Another obviously important competence is command of one's own language, in reading, writing, and speaking. Still another which has always been reckoned in the equipment of an educated man is some grasp of mathematics. Beyond these basic items, the list of desired "competences" varies somewhat with the educator making it up.

Finally, some take the view that the primary objective of a liberal education is to instill certain attitudes, values, and habits of mind which characterize the educated man. Educators will compile different lists of the qualities which characterize an educated man, but the lists will be neither as long nor as conflicting as one might suppose. Most of us agree that we would wish the educated man to be marked by intellectual curiosity, the capacity to think critically, and the capacity to weigh evidence dispassionately. We would wish him to be tolerant, temperate, balanced in judgment, and we would wish him to possess certain general qualities such as maturity, magnanimity, and so forth. We would not wish him to be intellectually lazy or slovenly, and we would not wish his rational processes to be at the mercy of his fears and prejudices.

Though it is no more possible to be precise about the objectives of liberal education than to be precise about appropriate goals for living, the attempt to list such objectives is useful. The list makes it crystal clear, for example, that the purpose of a liberal education is to start the student on the road to maturity in the broadest sense of that word. Though it cannot possibly complete the job of "preparing him for life" it can initiate the sort of personal growth which may eventually result in some measure of maturity. And it is clear that the sort of wisdom, judgment, and perspective which a liberal education should provide the individual, should make him better able to face the daily decisions of life—in his work, in his own family, in his community and in the world at large. It is not an ornament which will be chiefly visible when he sits through the opera or limps through the local museum.

But can he get a job? The defenders of the liberal arts have always had to face this question from skeptics. There is some difference of opinion as to the marketability of the four-year liberal arts graduate, but the weight of evidence is that he has little difficulty in finding employment. Whether this would hold true in more stringent times remains an unanswered question. There are those who say that it does not even hold true today. They point out that although the president of the corporation gives speeches supporting the liberal arts, his personnel manager has not heard the speech and hires men with vocational degrees. This is a widely circulated story; whether it is true or not is hard to tell. Even if it is true, it is not wholly discouraging. The president of the corporation has only recently been giving such speeches, and that he gives them at all is an encouraging development. Some day the personnel managers may listen.

Obviously, a liberal education will make a man a better professional. John Stuart Mill said: "Men are men before they are lawyers or physicians or manufacturers; and if you make them capable and sensible men, they will make themselves capable and sensible lawyers or physicians." In other words, a liberal education is of some practical and professional value. But its vocational value is not its *raison d'etre*, and any promotional program which stresses this as the primary value of a liberal education is guilty of misrepresentation. The first orientation of a liberal education is toward man as man, not toward man as money-maker.

Liberal Education in High Schools and Junior Colleges

If the objectives of liberal education are as broad and deep as we have suggested, then it is easy to answer the question "Who should receive a liberal education?" The answer is "Everybody." The objective of liberal education is to produce mature men, good men, even—hopefully—wise men. No society can have enough such men. Liberal education is not something we guard from the barbarians but something we give freely to all for the betterment of all. This means that liberal education values *must* be sought in precollege years, since many youngsters do not go on to college. The liberal arts are certainly, at present, a strong feature of the curriculum of most good high schools. They should be a strong feature of *all* high schools.

Liberal education should also play a role in the junior colleges. There are many educators who believe that these should be wholly vocational institutions. In view of the very rapid rise and considerable potential of the junior college, this problem is of particular interest. The chief argument for an admixture of liberal education at the junior college level is simply that the junior college student, no less than the four-year student, must be educated as a man. Even though the junior college student has no intention of going on to a four-year college or to pre-professional work, he still may profit from the maturing experiences which the liberal arts provide.

A second and no less important reason is that if the two-year college curriculum is wholly vocational it may make difficult the later transfer of students to four-year institutions. The youngster who "raises his sights" in the course of his junior college work, and discovers that he really wants to go on to a four-year degree, will find himself in a blind alley. Such blind alleys are distinctly not in the tradition of American higher education or even secondary education. We have traditionally leaned over backward to allow for late decisions and "late bloomers."

Some question has been raised as to whether a junior college can hold a decent liberal arts faculty. Experience has proved that the answer is unequivocally yes. As is true of high schools, junior colleges can and have recruited and retained excellent teachers. Indeed in some instances the level of teaching is higher than it is in four-year institutions.

It goes without saying that in developing a liberal arts curriculum, the junior colleges must not seek to duplicate what goes on in a four-year college. What they develop must be their own, not borrowed, and it must be appropriate to their situation. Much experimentation will be necessary before they achieve this.

Content Versus Method

In facing the need for further experimentation, the junior colleges are not alone. The four-year colleges also are still struggling to discover the best patterns for the strengthening of liberal education. And in the course of these efforts some lively debates arise over the validity of one or another approach.

One of the liveliest of these debates concerns the question of *content* versus *method*. Is the primary purpose of a liberal education to equip the student to master certain information (i.e., content) or to master certain methods? Our conception of the goals of liberal education leads us to reject any notion that content and method are mutually incompatible approaches. Both are important. But the argument has been so prominent in discussions of liberal education that we must look into it.

Some of the radical proponents of method have gone so far as to say that content is a matter of indifference. They say that the important thing is to provide the student with methods—"how to think," "how to communicate," and so forth—and that the particular subject matter used to achieve these ends matters not at all. It makes little difference whether the content of the course is philosophy or electrical engineering, since the only purpose is to instill certain methods and not to impart information.

This position is obviously extreme and ridiculous. If one reviews the objectives listed in earlier paragraphs, one will note that a good many of the items point directly to content. If you are to acquaint the student with his own biological nature, then you must turn to the subject matter of biology. If you are to acquaint him with his own society, then you must turn to the social sciences. And quite aside from the informational items on our list of objectives, it should be a major purpose of liberal education to expose the student to man's most stirring intellectual and spiritual achievements. The most sensible way to do so is through the liberal arts.

Can it be said that there is an indispensable content to a liberal education? Of course not. It is shallow to seek to be precise about such matters. It is possible, however, to say that there is a range of subject matter which has proved itself *more* useful than other subject matters in the pursuit of a liberal education. This range of subject matter is the liberal arts: languages, literature, philosophy, the creative arts, the social sciences, mathematics, and the natural sciences. It is easier to move toward the objectives of a liberal education through a course on philosophy than through a course on business correspondence. It is possible to conceive of a course in business correspondence under the guidance of a teacher so inspired that it would contribute to a liberal education; it is also possible to conceive of a course in philosophy or history so stultifying as to be devoid of liberal education values. But—other things being equal—certain content *is* superior for the purposes of liberal education.

Having said that much, one must record the fact that great crimes have been committed in the name of superior content. Academic fields which have been smugly regarded as the chosen instruments of a liberal education have sometimes suffered from dry rot and decay. This means that although we claim that certain subjects are superior components of liberal education, nevertheless their vitality must be maintained or they will fail to remain so.

The role of science in liberal education has been the subject of misunderstanding and controversy. There have been some humanists who have sought to define the liberal arts as coterminous with their own fields of interest and to rule out science as something alien. Nothing could be less in accord with the history of the liberal arts or with the realities of our situation today. There is ample historical precedent for the inclusion of science in the liberal arts. It would be absurd to argue that a man could be considered liberally educated today without some comprehension of the role of science in our lives. Without some grasp of science, modern man cannot "live at the level of his time," to use Ortega's telling phrase.

In most colleges and universities it is not easy for the nonscience student to achieve this objective. It has been said, and with some justification, that the science departments are not at all interested in teaching nonscientists, or for that matter any student who is not going to major in their particular departments; and that they have no intention of designing courses to provide the nonscientist with the general comprehension of the scientific point of view. The scientists on their part say that their colleagues in other departments do not regard science as part of the equipment of a cultivated man, and do not encourage their students to take it seriously. Some scientists go on to say that there is no known way to give the beginning student a broad comprehension of science and that the only road to that end lies in intensive experience in a single science. But broader courses have been successfully developed, and have proved their value in interesting the student in science and revealing its nature to him. It has been argued that the humanists and social scientists should themselves deal with science in their courses; although science is an immensely relevant feature of modern history, the historian does not often give it the treatment it deserves.

It is not really surprising that the breathless advances of modern science have produced a disjunction within the faculty. It will be mended. There are promising and important experiments afoot which may soon solve the problem of bringing science to the nonscientist. Until then the only therapy would seem to be a maximum of good will and mutual respect on both sides.

So much for the *content* of a liberal education. Now what about the importance of *method?* The argument for it is simple. The college graduate is not an educated man; he is potentially an educated man. Education is lifelong, and the man who becomes educated is the man who knows how to find out what he wants to learn and how to go on learning it throughout his life. In other words, he is the man who has mastered certain methods of dealing with subject matter; he is the man who has learned how to proceed.

Teacher, Subject, and Student

While the proponents of general education experiment with content and method, they must also experiment with the *timing* of general education. With the heavy emphasis in recent years upon general education in the first two years of college, there is some danger that this "layer cake" approach will give the student a conception of liberal education as a two-year chore to be got over so that he can get on to the "important" part of his education. To avoid this, and for other reasons, some educators have come to favor the "slope" or "ramp" approach, in which the liberal education portion of the individual's program is heaviest in the first year and tapers off gradually throughout the undergraduate years.

A great variety of extremely interesting experiments have been made with first-year courses in general education. There is much to be lost if the student, as he signs up for college algebra, second-year French, American history, and freshman English, comes to the dreary conclusion that college is just high school all over again; and there is much to be gained if the student is given a sense of the freshness and stimulating quality of the college experience. Though one cannot count upon much depth of background at this level, one can devise courses which will awaken and excite the student's mind, which will open new vistas in the world of knowledge, pose new questions, and introduce new ways of thinking.

One of the great mistakes in many first-year general education courses is to cram too much information into them. This brought the downfall of the old "survey courses." It leads to superficiality and intellectual indigestion. Whatever the aims of the freshman course—whether to provide an "aerial map" of certain fields of knowledge, to pose certain intellectual issues, or to instill certain approaches to subject matter—these aims must be well thought out, well attuned to the level of the student, and not smothered in facts. Second-year courses in general education are also relatively common, and as a rule they are planned and administered as a block with the first-year courses.

Some of the most significant experiments in recent years have been with general education courses for upper classmen. Dartmouth, Reed, Smith, and Union Colleges, among others, have developed extraordinarily interesting general education courses at the later stage of the college curriculum. The argument as to whether this level is more appropriate than the freshman level for such "integrating courses" is wholly spurious. The courses at the two different levels serve different purposes and provide different experiences. Both are useful. Furthermore, there is no question that many other patterns could be worked out which would be equally useful. There is vast room for further experimentation.

One hears wide use of the term "integrating courses," and the phrase is not inaccurate because some of the most effective general education courses do indeed "integrate" materials from a number of different fields. No sensible educator, however, makes a fetish of "integration," and no sensible educator underestimates the capacity of the student to do the integrating for himself. General education courses do not integrate solely for the sake of integrating. Among other things, they integrate for the sake of saving time. Alfred North Whitehead said that "the whole problem of intellectual education is controlled by lack of time. If Methuselah was not a well-educated man it was his own fault or that of his teachers."

But we must deal with students whose time is severely limited. In seeking to develop—within the limits of time available—courses which will achieve the maximum in stirring intellectual curiosity, in introducing the student to new fields, we have learned some useful lessons. We have learned, for example, not to try to teach the student more than he can assimilate. We have learned that, in awakening the student, ideas are more potent than facts. We have learned that it is often important to turn to original sources rather than to expose the student to third-, fourth-, and fifth-hand treatments of important authors. And we have learned that we must think of the student as an active learner and not as a passive receptacle into which we stuff required bits of knowledge. It may even be that the teacher shortage will help us to learn that students can help themselves. We cannot *give* the student a liberal education. All that we can do is to provide an environment in which he can find it for himself. He is the sole proprietor of the learning process.

Even with emphasis upon student initiative, however, we need inspired teachers. All testimony from all sources emphasizes that the teacher is the key to a liberal education, as he is the key to every sort of education. If the student's mind catches fire it is almost invariably a teacher who set the spark. All of which suggests that there is ample reason for current anxieties about the teacher shortage. We do need more teachers, and we need better teachers. And we can have them if we want them badly enough. If we stop being defensive about the teaching profession and start recruiting, results will be achieved.

That is only part of the problem, for if we are to keep the teachers we recruit, we must reward them. This means better salaries, decent conditions of work, and more prestige for the teaching profession.

The Graduate and Professional Schools

At the graduate level, of course, liberal education has a less exclusive claim on the time of the professor. But many ask whether it is not possible to do far more than we have to date to increase the liberal education value of the graduate and professional curriculum. There are those who argue that some measure of liberal education should extend into the graduate and professional schools. This is not a widely held view, but one hears it more and more frequently.

It is difficult to make any generalization about the professional schools simply because of the variety in the nature of the professions. Some are truly "learned" professions and some can hardly be regarded so. Some are clearly rooted in basic sciences or fields of scholarship; others, less clearly so. But even the truly learned professions are becoming swamped with new knowledge and new techniques and drifting away from liberal values as they scramble to cover more and more new specialties. Perhaps this will eventually lead to a soundly based revival of liberal education values in these fields. In medicine, for example, it is now clear that the medical schools cannot conceivably stuff into the student's head even a fraction of the fantastic array of new knowledge. As a result, they are having to teach the student to find his way around in a wonderland of knowledge. To the extent that they provide the student with intellectual curiosity, with methods of gathering information, with standards of judgment, and with habits of learning that will prove serviceable in later years, they will not only have solved their own problem but have contributed enormously to a liberal approach to graduate and professional education.

Another respect in which the professional fields differ among themselves is the extent to which they invade the undergraduate years. Law has traditionally made relatively few demands upon the undergraduate college and has been willing to wait until the student attained his A.B. degree. Medicine has made more demands, but is on the whole in a reasonably good and balanced relationship with the undergraduate years. A number of other professional fields, however, such as engineering, social work, and business administration often have special undergraduate schools which compete directly with the liberal arts college. Some of these schools have followed the lead of the foremost scientific and technical institutes in requiring that students devote a portion of their time to the liberal arts, but others make no allowance whatever for the demands of a liberal education.

While we are discussing the contribution of liberal education to the graduate and professional curriculum, it would not be amiss to look in the other direction and to discuss the possible contribution of the professional schools to the undergraduate curriculum. The professions are enormously important in our society and will become much more so in the years ahead. Each learned profession is the custodian of important knowledge and important skills. Some of this knowledge and some of these skills may contribute to liberal education, and where this contribution is possible there could be no more appropriate place for it to be made than in the university. Indeed, the university is the one institution in our society in which all of the professions can deal with one another and can communicate to the oncoming generations their ideals and principles.

An excellent example of the potentialities in this direction may be found in the law. The survival of our democratic society depends upon a very widely shared comprehension of the principle of government by law and of the great legal precepts which have shaped our Western community. No institution could more effectively communicate such an understanding than a good law school, and there could be no more appropriate time than the undergraduate years of college. Yet today the law schools make virtually no attempt to meet this obligation. With the onward march of professionalization, this situation must certainly change. The professional schools cannot forever limit their interests to their own neophytes; they must also discharge their obligation in the field of liberal education.

* * *

We have described the various pressures which have been brought to bear upon the undergraduate college and particularly upon the liberal education curriculum. We have pointed out how, under these pressures, the liberal arts curriculum has been fragmented, buffeted, and pulled out of shape. We have noted the retreat, and in some cases the dismemberment, of the liberal arts college.

We have also described a vigorous counterattack—vigorous attempts to strengthen liberal education. How effective these attempts at invigoration will be it is not possible to predict. One of the obstacles to their success is the widespread misconception that liberal education is incompatible with specialization. This is a false and destructive view. The modern world is producing deeper and ever-ramifying specialization. But specialization can be based upon a sound foundation of liberal education. There is no reason why the specialist should not or cannot be an informed and cultivated citizen. It is not "impractical" for the technical or professional man to understand himself and his heritage. And it is within the reach of every specially trained man to have an awareness of the broader problems of his time. Indeed, if he does not, he is hardly worthy of the training which a generous society has lavished upon him.

EPILOGUE

The staff of the Center read the report of the Carnegie trustees with great interest.[1] We agreed that it was a thoughtful and remarkably useful statement, so useful, indeed, that we obtained permission to reprint it as a Center publication in order to bring it to the attention of our friends in university adult education. Useful as it is, however, it is oriented to the task with which the authors are most immediately concerned, the education of youth. From the ground on which we stand, we saw the vital implications of the statement for the liberal education of adults. The purpose of this epilogue is to spell out the implications which seem to us most important for the university.

Education is a many-layered institution, and those of us on one layer concentrate inevitably on the concerns of our own level, like the inhabitants of two-dimensional worlds that the physicists invent to explain the fourth dimension. One of the often productive tensions among those who think about education in relation to a more mature society exists between the layer which prepares youth and the layer which deals with the adult. Those concerned with youth point out that if we are to improve the quality of society by improving the individuals in it—"to produce mature men, even—hopefully—wise men"—we had best start with the youth. Adults, the argument often runs, are set in their ways, they gradually lose the ability to learn along with their hair, they have too much to lose by giving up their present patterns; the *children* must learn. The adult educators, from their own framework, make the point that youth can be trained, but only the mature can be educated; they go on to stress the desperate need for educating the generation in command, *while* it is in command of a culture whose members are "Huddled together, nervously loquacious, on the edge of the abyss."

I

The enormous growth of new knowledge and techniques in the modern world, and the resulting demands for specialized skills, have led to a greater emphasis on vocational and professional education. Such specialist education is essential to our national life, but higher education will suffer an irreparable loss if it neglects those other portions of the curriculum that place man before the occupation. Such neglect is widespread today.

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[1] The Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults is an independent organization established as a result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education. Its purpose is to encourage, stimulate, and assist in the development of programs and leadership concerned with the liberal education of adults. Its special area of interest is the university, and particularly those institutions with formally organized evening colleges or extension divisions. These are the universities which are members of the Association of University Evening Colleges and of the National University Extension Association.

We could hardly agree more heartily that the imbalance which the trustees note is a serious one, and one that needs redressing. Unfortunately, the report stops short; for it deals only with future students, apparently condemning past graduates of our inadequate college programs to a lifetime of the unnecessarily limited existence of the undereducated.

There are many such graduates. The revolution in the colleges mentioned in this report did not happen last week. The graduate professional schools have dictated undergraduate curricula for a long time. Undergraduate professional schools have been in existence a long time. Our industries, our businesses, and our schools are staffed, and in key positions by their graduates—thousands and hundreds of thousands of them—with no higher education except the specialized education of professional schools or professionalized departments. The liberal arts colleges have been staffed themselves by specialists ever since the Ph.D. came into its own as the professor's life certificate.

Let us be moderate. Let us assume that the revolution has been recent, that in the good old days as recently as thirty years ago, colleges put the man before the occupation and produced liberally educated men. Granting this, there are still plenty of the undereducated among college graduates. There have been many thousands of people graduated from our colleges since 1930, and most of them will not describe themselves as liberally educated men, or we will not agree. For these people, to reform the colleges is to lock the barn door after the horse is dead.

But, the task of liberal *adult* education is two-fold: not only remedial for those whose education has been overbalanced by technical or professional content; but supportive, for those whose undergraduate preparation was well-balanced, and who have needs for continuing education.

The second of these tasks implies the university's responsibility to provide both liberal and technical continuing education. The Carnegie trustees make it clear that by no means is the college graduate an educated man when he receives his degree—education is lifelong. Nevertheless, there is an assumption, long held by educators, that the four years in college prepare one to "commence"—or, as the trustees put it, the college graduate is the "man who has learned how to proceed" and it is often assumed that he can proceed on his own. Unquestionably, the product of a good college education should be able to continue learning independently, and few would deny that in recent years we have tended to make education a process of leading people around by their intellectual noses from the cradle to the grave. But there are some compelling reasons why even a good beginning in college is seldom quite enough. One is that a dynamic society is providing us not only with rapid technological change to keep up with, but with changing conceptions of man and the universe as well. Another reason is that there is considerable truth to Adler's observation that only the mature can be educated; a young man or woman ten years out of college might well be readier for a kind of educational experience for which he had only impatience in his late teens.

It is already educationally and industrially fashionable for people to return to the university for remedial work in communications or to take specialized courses in professional and technical areas, or in principles of management. Why not refreshment or increased competence in those liberal arts devoted to his essential humanity rather than his occupation? The trustees properly insist that everyone should have a college education. The Center staff is inclined to ask, "Is that enough?" Whether continuing education is intended to restore an educational balance, or to maintain it, we believe that part of the university's responsibility extends beyond graduation.

II

But is it the *university's* responsibility? This country's colleges and universities, in the opinion of some, already have enough problems without undertaking another almost insuperable task. But, say the trustees,

> if the objectives of liberal education are as broad and deep as we have suggested, then it is easy to answer the question "Who should receive a liberal education?" The answer is "Everybody." The objective of liberal education is to produce mature men, good men, even—hopefully—wise men. No society can have enough such men. Liberal education is not something we guard from the barbarians but something we give freely to all for the betterment of all.

They go on to suggest that an implication of this belief is that liberal education must become part of pre-college education in high schools and junior colleges.

We agree. But we doubt that this will solve the problem in the terms in which we discussed it above. High school and junior college programs, to a much greater extent than those of institutions of higher education, are subject to community and social pressures to meet vocational or purely recreational needs. They are, in many cases, frankly service institutions.

We are persuaded that the role of the university and college in providing continuing liberal education for mature citizens must be an important one if the job is to get done at all. Institutions of higher education, despite their own increasing specialization of function, seem destined to remain one of the few general institutions, if not the only one, in an increasingly specialized culture and therefore are able to view the task of educating specialists in broader terms than the specialist himself is likely to be able to see it. Universities and colleges, too, have historically a "consciousness of self" and a sense of responsibility which enables them, if they wish, to move counter to trends in the society generally.

If the answer is truly to be "Everybody," then, institutions of higher education had better be in the vanguard or the parade will never get going.

III

The trustees devote considerable attention to the question of the *timing* of general education, and note two general trends:

> With the heavy emphasis in recent years upon general education in the first two years of college, there is some danger that this "layer cake" approach will give the student a conception of liberal education as a two-year chore to be got over so that he can get on to the "important" part of his education. To avoid this, and for other reasons, some educators have come to favor the "slope" or "ramp" approach, in which the liberal education portion of the individual's program is heaviest in the first year and tapers off gradually throughout the undergraduate years.

For the welfare of future undergraduates and of present ones, these are important considerations. But for the college graduate who has had essentially professional education, whose experience like his education has been specialized, the only thing we can do is turn the cake upside down. For him collegiate general education must come after the specialized education he already has had, if he is to get it at all.

Why not? There is nothing wrong with pineapple-upside-down-cake. Perhaps it is really right side up.[2] In a sense, the present or potential head of a family is irresponsible if he postpones the urgent necessities for the sake of the luxurious pursuit of knowledge—except that the pursuit of knowledge is far from irrelevant to practical affairs. But this reservation does not contradict the urgency of practical affairs. Useful occupations may be less noble, less dignified, less exalted, lower in the hierarchy of values than liberal pursuits (Aristotle says they are) but they are indispensable. We can live in our society without wisdom far more easily than we can live without salable skills (if we can imagine a person totally devoid of one and possessed of the other). The pursuits of leisure most appropriate to man's humanity may be higher pursuits than those of labor, but labor is the means by which we earn leisure.

Undergraduates know this as well as employment officers. Convention speaks, and rightly, of the idealism of youth. But there is a streak of stubborn realism in the American undergraduate, too. Presidents of large corporations urge the colleges to produce "generally" and "liberally" educated men. They say, and they seem to mean, that top management must come from the ranks of liberally educated men: among liberally educated men will be found the presidents, vice-presidents and chairmen of boards. So say the presidents, vice-presidents, and board chairmen. But the undergraduate knows that large corporations do not as a rule elect presidents, vice-presidents, and board chairmen who have barely passed their majority and who have had only a school experience. He has noticed, too, how extraordinarily few professors of the liberal arts have been offered presidencies of large corporations.

It is the first job that is hard to get, not the ultimate vice-presidency. Vice-presidential greatness will be thrust upon them. For the first job, "salable skills" are indispensable. We may find a way to include in our college programs more meaningful liberal components in more liberal quantities, but we will not easily persuade undergraduates to neglect the specialized skills that they rightly think will qualify them for particular jobs.

It makes sense from the longer perspective of the adult educator, then, to extend the "slope" image by extending it beyond graduation, in reverse. One would assume that after graduation the individual would be preoccupied for some time with his vocational advancement; and, except for in-service training, his continued education would be outside the university. When he returned for intermittent refresher work, we would expect that his need for training in the higher levels of his job would predominate; as he mastered his "calling," however, his education might become increasingly liberal. Presenting the total educational experience schematically, this version of the "slope" approach would look like this:

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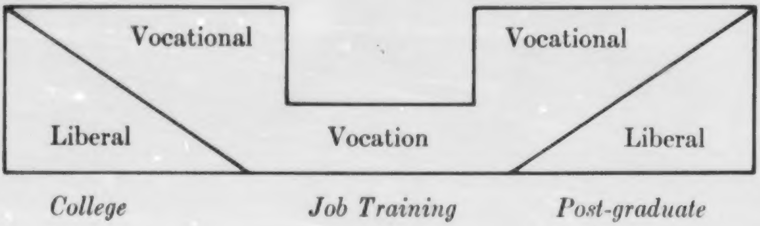
[2] John B. Schwertman, "General Education and Specialized Education," CSLEA, mimeographed paper.



IV

When the college graduate is ready for liberal education, it will need to be different from that which he may well have rejected as a student. Liberal education in our schools and undergraduate colleges is a base on which to build specialized education—the layer cake, and the top layer is the valued one with icing. For the adult practitioner, however, specially educated and earning his living by application of his specialized knowledge, the object of liberal education is to free him from his specialty, not to prepare him to learn it. Even for the undergraduate, the trustees observe:

> . . . One must record the fact that great crimes have been committed in the name of superior content. Academic fields which have been smugly regarded as the chosen instruments of a liberal education have sometimes suffered from dry rot and decay. This means that although we claim that certain subjects are superior components of liberal education, nevertheless their vitality must be maintained or they will fail to remain so.

If this is true of undergraduate liberal education, it is more true of continuing education for mature adults. There are encouraging signs that universities, in some cases in cooperation with industry, are not only aware of a need to cooperate on the building programs of continuing liberal education, but are making special efforts to adapt the programs to the character of the new audience. Several such programs are described below. In the first group are those which are based on the need to redress the imbalance of an earlier, overspecialized, education; the second group contain programs which will fill the more general need for continuing liberal education.[3]

A

A. T. and T. Programs. Perhaps the best known of the several programs of liberal education for business executives is the original Bell Telephone course at the University of Pennsylvania. The first course ran for two full semesters in 1953–54, and has spawned three other experimental projects, at Dartmouth, Williams, and Swarthmore. The four programs represent not only differences in duration of the experience—the range is from eight weeks to two semesters—but also a difference in subject matter. In general they combine lectures, discussions, readings, and exposure to special guests, but each is different. At Pennsylvania, for example, the subjects studied are grouped into four major fields: history, science, philosophy, and the arts. In the beginning, students get a "tool" course in practical logic and a course in economic theory; following this is a long program—until Easter—in "humanistic disciplines" (art, music, literature). They then begin to tie up knowledge with courses related to the present-day world: American Civilization, Modern Architecture, and City Planning, Political Science and International Relations, and *Ulysses.*

Executive Development Program for Federal Administrators. This program was developed by the University of Chicago in cooperation with the Chicago Federal Personnel Council. It is divided into two categories, each of which contains four or more seminars. The first deals with various conceptions of administration, the second centers on decision-making as the heart of the administrative process. Seminars are concerned with the relation of administration to its political superstructure; the psychology and sociology of decision-making, the uses and limitations of science in validating factual administrative decisions, ethics, etc.

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[3] These descriptions are adapted from those included in Peter E. Siegle and James B. Whipple, *New Directions in Programming for University Adult Education*, CSLEA, Chicago, 1957.

The Vassar Institute for Women in Business. The first two-week residential institute was held at Vassar, summer, 1956, under the cooperative sponsorship of the National Secretaries Association (International) and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults. The curriculum focus was *Explorations in Meaning*, a discussion of significant life themes as they apply to the individual in her relationship to government, law, the social system, the arts, and other individuals. Three main seminars met daily, supplemented by field trips and visitations of distinguished guests: political figures, poets, artists, dancers, musicians, social critics. The Association intends to repeat this institute in following summers for more of its members.

Memphis Institute for Executive Leadership. This is Southwestern University's community-wide program for representatives of local business and industry. It is a two-year program for some twenty-five business executives, with sessions held for an entire morning each Monday. This is supplemented with a residential weekend at the beginning and end of each year, and an occasional all-day session. The first year concentrates on "Man and His Life in Inter-Human Relations," the second on "Man and His Life as Affected by Science and Technology."

B

The Basic Program. This is the University of Chicago's highly successful program especially for adults. It is a four-year program conducted in the evening, classes meeting either once a week or twice a week. It is very carefully planned by its full-time staff of administrators and instructors. The heart of the program is the "Seminar," in which the students and instructor gather to discuss the week's reading: a great novel, a play, a poem, or classic works on politics, economics, ethics, history, and psychology. Secondary sources are avoided; all readings are original texts. The Seminar is supplemented by tutorial classes in humanities, social science, and natural science, which concentrate on close reading of a text, careful attention to the methods of the sciences.

Laboratory College for Adults. An experimental program which begins this year at Northwestern University, developed by the Center. The program takes its name from the intention to use the city itself as a learning laboratory. Participants will go out into the city to get common experiences with the resources of art and drama in the city, with its political problems, its ecological situation. These experiences will then be evaluated and discussed, not only for the meaning which can be found in them specifically but to help the participants generalize about the way in which one can learn from that kind of experience.

Alumni Programs. The development of programs in liberal education for alumni is an area which is beginning to get a great deal of attention. Occasions for educational programs of one sort or another have often in the past utilized homecomings, summer encampments, reunions, TV programs, neighborhood meetings, etc., and there is increasing concern with making these programs liberal instead of merely fund-raising. Three programs seem to have been outstandingly successful: the Barnard College Forum (an inter-university affair, primarily a lecture series which serves the alumni of several schools); Southwestern University's at Memphis; and Roosevelt University's in Chicago. The latter two are notable in that the programs are tied in with other total community efforts in adult education, and are geared primarily to the metropolitan community in which the colleges are located.

Much experimentation remains to be done, but these and other programs are promising beginnings which have two important things in common: they accept the notion of educational experiences which are organized differently from those designed for undergraduate or graduate students; and they are dedicated to the proposition that liberal education for adults is an important part of the university's task of making a "better, wiser, more cultivated man."

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Notes & Essays
19

REISSUED

ESPECIALLY FOR ADULTS

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CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS**

THE CENTER *for the* **STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS** was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Publications of the Center are listed on the inside covers, with information as to how they may be obtained.

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Published October 1957

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PREFACE

This essay is concerned with problems related to the education of adults. Implicit in its title is the assumption that there are elements in adult education which make it different from collegiate education for youth. Furthermore, it is assumed that a teacher cannot compensate for adult students merely by making a few modifications in his undergraduate course. In other words, adult education has its own characteristic values and its own special problems—and these call for the development of educational experiences which are especially for adults.

An educational experience must take many factors into consideration. First, there is a group of human beings who interact dynamically, both as individuals and as members of the group. The management of this human material with the aim of educating is one important component of the art of teaching. Second, there is the entire problem of learning theory; and we are constantly increasing our understanding of how individuals learn. Much of the skill and knowledge related to these two factors is applied by the teacher in the classroom; and we believe that the practice should be different if the students are adults. The major concern of this essay, however, is a third factor in the educational experience—planning and development of the course. Since most courses are developed before and between the sessions, we will be concerned here primarily with preparatory aspects of the art of teaching adults.

Before we consider these problems, it may be well to clarify the meaning of "educational experience." The term may not be entirely satisfactory; it was selected to include not only courses, classrooms and seminars, but also those less academic, informal settings where education may occur. At the same time, this essay restricts the term to those educational experiences which are directed by a teacher. In this sense we are concerned with formal education rather than the self-directed variety exemplified by Henry Adams in his famous Education.

During the five years of its existence, the Center for the Study of

Liberal Education for Adults has made the problem of educational experiences especially for adults one of its major concerns. Its staff have developed courses, and grants have been made to enable university teachers to contribute others. At workshops and conferences, the staff of the Center have participated and listened in an attempt to identify characteristics which make a course appropriate for adults. Out of all this, no clear set of principles is derived that can be stated with confidence; there is no certain answer to the question, "What, if anything, can be done to make liberal education in the university especially for adults?" Nevertheless, the staff are convinced that there is a set of principles which apply to adult education, and this essay attempts to summarize the experience of one staff member's search for them. It is my hypothesis that the point of departure is not a particular method or a particular content, but the nature of adulthood itself, and in particular the ways in which the adult as student differs from younger students who populate the university.

An attempt has been made to generalize about the nature of the adult as student. This is difficult for the very obvious reason that people simply do not fit into neat categories: more specifically, it must be admitted that an individual is not a boy one day and a man the next. Also, the various characteristics of adults do not appear simultaneously at a particular point in life; a young man of twenty-one may be adult in some ways and still a boy in others. Finally, it must be acknowledged that there are distinct developmental stages of adulthood just as there are stages of childhood. Nevertheless, the generalizations do serve a useful purpose: they provide a framework for thinking about the special problems of teaching adults.

Another issue appears to be an inevitable concomitant of university adult education—the question of credit versus non-credit. There are some persons who would claim that degree classes, held in the evening, are examples of remedial education, and are not adult education at all. According to this position, the purpose of such classes is to provide opportunity for making up a deficiency; the difference between the evening degree program and remedial spelling is one of educational level. From this it may follow that no changes for adult classes are possible or necessary, or that it may be good to change the sociology course, but one must not tamper with mathematics or history. The element of truth makes this position difficult to challenge, and perhaps we should begin by admitting that of course there are cases where changes are unnecessary, even impossible, just because the students are adults. But there are not as many cases as we think; and we believe that most credit courses can be modified to make them more appropriate for adults. Hopefully, then, this would be the last rather than the initial reaction to especially for adults. We have learned ways to teach remedial reading and writing to adults: perhaps there are opportunities for modifications in the delayed degree program for adults.

At the same time it is also reasonable to admit that more experimenting can and should be done in the non-degree area. Perhaps here lies the real challenge in making adult education something other than a remedial program. In the words of one astute dean, "Many adults are in degree courses because they are the only courses (or more damningly, the only serious courses) offered by many evening colleges. Aiming the course content and so forth, at delayed undergraduates neglects the majority of the students enrolled—to say nothing of the wise (or wily) adults who stay away."

Finally, a note on responsibility—in developing the essay, the author depended a great deal on the official experience of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults and on past as well as present members of its staff. However, this is not an official statement of the Center; the major points, its tone, and its biases are individual, not institutional.

J. B. W.

July, 1957

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I

INTRODUCTION

"Teachers teach subjects to students" —when one deals with this commonplace it is imperative for him to recognize that the nature of adulthood requires an educational experience which, in certain ways, is especially for adults. The clue to better courses for adults, however, does not lie in the discovery of techniques which are especially for adults, but in identifying characteristics of adulthood—characteristics which are relevant to the educational experience.

This essay is written from the point of view of a teacher who is planning a course which is especially for adults, although obviously there are many other components in the educational experience. There are technical problems related to learning theory; there is the performance in the classroom itself; and there are administrative problems as varied as physical facilities and recruitment. In some ways it is difficult and perhaps futile to think about one aspect and not the others; however, in spite of interrelationships they are separate functions, and it thus seems justifiable to restrict this essay to those problems faced by a teacher when he sits down to plan his course for adults.

There are at least two approaches to the problem of preparing courses for adults—both of them more or less legitimate. One point of view places major emphasis on content, the other on method. This distinction is, of course, vastly oversimplified, for no teacher is so chained to his subject that he ignores method, nor so preoccupied with process that he neglects content. Nevertheless, the extreme types do provide a good vantage point from which to examine some implications which may follow from excessive emphasis on one or the other. It must be stressed that these comments are not intended as descriptions of individual teachers; the concern here is with tendencies which have been personified as extreme types. Let us call them Professor Black and Professor White.

Professor Black is subject-oriented; he thinks about teaching in terms of vaguely defined "standards." For him the emphasis is on keeping standards high; university education leads toward the best approximation of truth which we have and it is presented in fairly arbitrary quantities. For him it is a case of "let's face it: education at this level is hard work." Attempts to sugar coat it, to make it easy by compromise of one kind or another are nonsensical and an abrogation of the university's responsibility. Since the teacher knows and the student does not, the teacher tells the student or directs him to the truth through certain accepted works.

This view is not restricted to Professor Black—it is reinforced by testimony from adults. A lawyer, explaining his position on adult education, put it this way: "If I were to take a course, I would want it straight from the horse's mouth." In the final analysis, this is a question of insecurity or inadequacy in the face of that mass of learning symbolic of university faculty; and perhaps it is a regression to childish perceptions of the master-pupil relationships. Many adults feel this way; and, needless to add, Professor Black has little difficulty accepting the institutionalized image of his profession.

Possibly this view of the classroom explains why many adults stay away from the university, but will, in some cases, participate in a lay discussion of great books where the authoritarianism of the classroom is played down. Professor Black thinks so. On occasion he has modified his courses to make them more entertaining. He is uneasy about this but assumes that a major problem is competition for the adult's leisure time. The master-pupil relation probably continues, but the subject matter is made less threatening; this means offering college subjects—"culture," world understanding, arts, crafts, social skills—in easy, pleasant doses. The approach is still oriented to content—that is, Professor Black admits to the same "high standards" for his day students, but for adults in the evening he lowers his expectations . . . "After all, what's a fellow going to do?"

In addition to quality or quantity of the content, Professor Black tends to view his subject-matter as an essential for survival in the modern world. It may be history, nucleonics, philosophy, communications, or any other subject. He may insist on "high standards," or he may compromise, but in either case the necessity of mastering a particular content is of major importance. Professor Black has at least some difficulty in believing that others will find his discipline less important and less intriguing than he does—particularly at the university level, where one becomes deeply absorbed in his specialty. As a result, Professor Black is inclined to feel that the announcement of his course will be enough to "pack 'em in," or at least, once they are there, to captivate them.

This is not to imply that the various academic disciplines do not have any world-saving attributes, but, for example, the doses of history which are provided for conventional graduate or undergraduate programs are not necessarily appropriate for adults.

At any rate, a subject-oriented approach is probably the simplest way to handle the problem. It leaves little opportunity for confusion or doubt, if the material is considered essential, and there may be controversy, but not much doubt, if the question is quantity and quality of content. At Professor Black's university, where this approach reigns supreme, the program offered is very clear; adult students are expected to adapt to it or fall by the wayside. The only alternative for them is transfer to the non-credit program where smaller servings are offered and where, by implication, there are fewer intellectual calories.

No one in his right mind would claim that the question of content is irrelevant to university education. Nevertheless, this approach does have serious limitations of a professor so entangled in his own special discipline that the importance of content becomes distorted. Certainly it is somewhat ridiculous to claim that a particular course is essential for the liberation of the adult, or for his survival in the modern world. Only slightly less ridiculous is the assumption that liberal education consists of a rigid curriculum which specifies certain subjects in certain set quantities, or which suggests that if the quantity is reduced, the result is second-rate education appropriate for adults. This is not to say that there should be no principles behind the curriculum; but it is to suggest that Professor Black cannot produce a good one for adults mere by examining the college catalogue. The content simply has too little when it is divorced from the student. This leads us to the basic weakness in Professor Black's approach—by placing excessive attention on the subject he tends to forget the student.

Professor White, on the other hand, is process-oriented; he places his major emphasis on method and on the student—the way he acts both in groups and as an individual. He is most impatient when anyone asks him about content: of course the subject-matter is important, but all the content in the world will not help a teacher if he does not develop an adequate method for reaching the student. Thus if one asks him about objectives for the educational experience Professor White is apt to talk about "process goals." The problem is simple: given a subject matter, how does the teacher get it across? What are the most effective methods or techniques?

Professor White is more willing than Professor Black to admit that there are significant differences between a conventional class of undergraduates and a group of adults. Much of Professor White's process develops in the classroom, but he believes that method should play an important role in advance preparation for a class composed of adults. Indeed, a few years ago Professor White prepared a list of criteria to guide his department in preparing courses for adults. According to him courses for mature students should: (1) be based on texts, not textbooks; (2) encourage discussion; (3) encourage students to think, not tell them what to think; (4) incite curiosity to further study; and (5) be based on materials which are inexpensive and readily available. One might raise the question whether this particular list could not apply equally well to youth, but it is illustrative of a methodological approach. Essentially empirical, it says: "On the basis of past experience, the following methods and types of material have been especially effective with adults."

One danger to this approach—particularly with the teacher who is concerned about competition—is the temptation to become a gadgeteer, the object being to make university-level courses palatable by the use of one or more gimmicks. An example which came to the Center's attention was an attempt to teach nuclear physics by means of cartoons from newspapers and magazines. The result of this mixture of nonsense and nucleonics was that the gimmick overshadowed the content, or at best contributed nothing to the learning experience.

A second danger is that the emphasis on technique can become somewhat inflexible. For example, it is generally claimed that adult courses should use the discussion method. But in fact, discussion may or may not be appropriate—dependent upon what is discussed and how it is handled. Certainly the addition of "discussion questions" does not automatically transform an undergraduate course in history into one for adults, particularly if the questions are merely a series requiring answers found in a lecture or text. This is something any good teacher may do when it is necessary to correct some misunderstanding, but the inclusion of such a list in a discussion guide represents a desperate attempt by the teacher to comply with an arbitrary requirement for a good course for adults.

In spite of these pitfalls—and what method does not have some—it is a reasonable way to look at the problem. A conscientious teacher is constantly alert for new or better methods of presenting his subject-matter; and it should not be assumed that a new "gimmick" necessarily means sacrificing standards. For example, in a recent guide developed by the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults—International Political Behavior—the authors skillfully used magazine articles, newspaper reports, and cartoons as part of the text.[1] One political scientist who was asked for comments rejected the notion absolutely: "Cartoons to illustrate text are one thing," he wrote, "but frequently these cartoons are text." They are indeed, and why not? It is not a question of standards; in fact, some readers have pointed out that the book is impossible to use without a competent political scientist as teacher. Why cartoons and other mass media? The authors believe that the material is particularly meaningful to adults, since it is the form in which ordinarily they do and must obtain their information about international affairs.

In this essay, however, we propose to follow neither Black nor White. Our method is to go back one step further to a factor implied in both approaches, that is, to the characteristics of the adult as student. These characteristics are important clues to both content and method in the education of adults; if we merely assume them, often this is equivalent to ignoring them. Thus, one advantage to this approach is that it should forestall a tendency to automatically apply a set of techniques just because the course is planned for adults. Perhaps its major advantage, however, lies in its flexibility: it is not a case of saying this or that method should be used with adults, but that the following special characteristics of adults should be taken into consideration in planning courses for them, and such consideration may affect content, method, or both—depending upon the situation. Furthermore—and this is crucial—the approach does not suggest that content or method must always be different; in many cases a teacher may decide that no changes in his approach are necessary, but it is important that the adult factor be considered.

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[1] Morton Gordon and Ivan Nagy, International Political Behavior: A Discussion Guide Relating Current Issues to Principles, Chicago, CSLEA, 1956.

In any discussion of courses especially for adults, it is useful to place considerable emphasis on differences in education for the two age groups. An emphasis on differences can be explained in part by the hypothesis which assumes that there are differences—some individuals question this. One position is held by the teacher who claims he uses the same approach in the evening that he does in the day program—and with equal success. Other critics are willing to grant the soundness of some of the objectives, material, or methods proposed by innovators in the liberal education of adults, but it is their contention that although some ideas have merit pedagogically, they are not especially for adults and would apply equally well to youth. It is not the purpose of this essay to insist that a particular method or type of material is exclusively for adults. Concentration on characteristics of the adult as student make it possible to consider any methods or material which are appropriate to the educational situation.

The major reason for emphasizing differences, however, is related to the normal educational experiences of most teachers of adults. Formal education in the university tends to focus on younger people; and usually the member of the university faculty who teaches adults is primarily a teacher of undergraduates and graduates in the regular program. Even if he is only a part-time faculty member his last experience with formal education was probably at the regular collegiate level. Thus, to think about differences makes sense: first because not everything about teaching changes when the student becomes an adult, and second because it is logical to start with the familiar experiences of the average teacher. In this connection, it is important to bear in mind that the present emphasis on differences is a device used to enhance understanding, and must not distract attention from the object of this essay: to identify characteristics of adulthood which may be factors in planning courses or other educational experiences for adults.

Before we turn to a consideration of these characteristics, it may be helpful to define an adult. In this paper the status of adulthood is determined by two factors, physiological and social. Physiologically a person becomes an adult when he has grown to full size and strength; this point comes at the climax of adolescence and is very close to the point at which a person reaches his peak in physical ability—somewhere around the ages of twenty to twenty-five. After that the adult goes into a very gradual decline; reaction periods become longer, sensory perceptions become less sharp, capacity for work slows down. Mental growth may continue past the mid-twenties, but the tempo will be slower—the adult walks where youth runs.

Perhaps it should be made clear that this differentiation does not mean that adults are unable to learn. Early experiments tended to over-publicize the relationship between youth and the level of learning. Intelligence tests, in which the speed of reaction frequently was an important factor, placed the maximum level at age fourteen. Gradually this maximum has been raised, but there are two other points more important from the point of view of adult learning: one never loses the ability entirely; and the ability at any age is increased both by high motivation and by practice or exercise.

Even more significant in the education of adults, there are kinds of learning as well as levels of learning. This is what Peter Siegle calls "horizontal learning" as opposed to the "vertical learning" which is measured by intelligence tests.[2] When it comes to kinds of learning, the adult may have the advantage over a younger person. At any level of learning there is a wide variety of tasks, skills, and complex systems of subject matter; and regardless of the level, they are capable of modification or expansion. Moreover, the most effective learning occurs when the individual has adequate experience and maturation to cope with the subject. Often these are lacking in a younger person, which makes him incapable of extensive horizontal learning: Siegle points out that one does not expect a two year old to learn the "fine art of cursive writing." With adults one may expect that vertical learning will continue at a somewhat slower rate, but horizontal learning will become more pronounced.

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[2] Peter E. Siegle, "Mountains, Plateaus, and Valleys in Adult Learning," Adult Education, March, 1954, pp. 146-150.

The social factor is less frequently considered as a characteristic of adults—perhaps because it is difficult to place it at a chronological age; but the social factor is implicit in much adult education. Socially an adult is one who has become independent and responsible for himself in the society where he lives. The social factor involves such things as independence from family authority, economic independence, the assumption of responsibilities for family and for community. These may occur at a variety of ages, and there are those who criticize the tendency to call undergraduates "kids," feeling that they are not kids, but adults. In a physical sense this is correct and in European terms it may even be wholly right; but in America we extend the period of dependency, particularly for the growing number of young men and women who go to college. On the other hand, a person of eighteen who goes to work and perhaps marries early is an adult in a social sense much sooner than a contemporary who continues his schooling and his dependency.

Clearly, in the case of both physiological and social factors, the differentiation has other elements of oversimplification. A major difficulty is that there is no precise line separating youth from adulthood. A young man graduates from high school, goes to work, and starts attending evening college. He may be different from his boyhood friend who goes away to college, and he may mature more rapidly. This does not mean that he immediately acquires the adult characteristics of his father even if he leaves home and marries early. Furthermore, adult itself is not the same from twenty-five to ninety. The adult himself goes through various developmental stages. We are not as clear about these stages as we are in the case of children, but it is generally recognized that they do exist.

In spite of these difficulties with the definition, it is useful for this essay, where the object is to consider the characteristics of adults in general. When it comes to application, however, modifications are necessary if it is to apply to particular adults and particular stages of adulthood.

This study identifies six areas in which there are distinctive characteristics of adults—characteristics which are relevant to the educational experience. First, the factor of adult experience requires special consideration in course planning. Second, emotional meanings provide a variety of overtones for adults which generally are outside the experience of youth. Third, adult patterns of thought tend to be fixed. Fourth, the time perspective of adults is different. Fifth, the time available for organized educational experience varies. Sixth, adult motivations tend to be complex and directed toward practical objectives.

II

EXPERIENCE

"Experience" as used here is a general term meaning an event or sum of events of which the individual has been a part and which, in interaction with his heredity and psychic or temperamental constitution, has produced the person we see. It is a key word in differentiating the adult from youth, because the adult has *more* experience, *different kinds* of experience, and it is *differently oriented*.[3] The fact of more experience is self-evident; by virtue of longer and more varied lives, adults have been through a lot more than youth. The other two experiential factors are less obvious and require further amplification.

Kinds of Experience

There are two aspects to the factor of different kinds of experience. First, there are the biological, social, economic, and political experiences which ordinarily are not part of youthful life. Second, in general adult experiences tend to vary more from individual to individual. Unquestionably modern pressures upon the adult to conform tend to cut down variety; nevertheless, some differences remain. For example, youth usually are restricted to activities primarily with their own age level; or contacts with other ages are institutionalized. That is, youth are involved in such common experiences as home, family, schooling, and play either with their own age group or in fixed patterns with adults. An adult tends to deal as an equal with individuals of all ages. This implies a diversity which is outside the ken of youthful experience—both in itself and in possible variations among adults. Needless to say, teachers must also consider the different kinds of experience which are not based on student age—such factors as environment or class; but although these are equally important, they are not especially for adults and are thus not subject to consideration here.

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[3] A number of adult educators are responsible for this concept of experiential differences. One of its outstanding exponents is Professor Cyril O. Houle of the University of Chicago. Dr. Houle specifies that the experience is "differently organized"; for this writer the term "oriented" is more meaningful.

In summary, then, kinds of adult experience differ on two counts: first, because adults as a group live less prescribed existences than youth; second, because the wider range of available activities produces diverse experiences among adults themselves.

Many obvious illustrations come to mind—love, marriage, politics, vocation, war. Certainly the war experience serves as an interesting example, because it has been part of the lives of the last two generations of adults. Although war provides its participants with much in common, there are also a great number of variations, of which these are only a few: the theater of operations; the individual's role as a combatant or non-combatant; participation in the first or second World War; direct experience with fear or violent death. War in the jungles at Guadalcanal is different from war along the hedge rows of Normandy; and both are different from the trench warfare of 1917. Yet there are similarities—the whine and crack of artillery shells, the helpless fear of a shelling are probably the same anywhere and any time.

One cannot read the war novels which have come out of the last two world conflicts without being struck with the difference as well as the similarities. Richard Aldington, in Death of a Hero, has left an unforgettable description of war around "Hill 91, one of the most fought over places in the line, seamed with trenches, pitted with shell holes, honeycombed with galleries, eviscerated with huge mine craters, blasted bare of all vegetation."[4] Here the hero, George Winterbourne, lived month after month subjected to endless shelling, machine gun fire, gas attacks. There was little variety except for attacks and counterattacks in which front line trenches changed hands.

This suggests a different experience from the mobile warfare of the second World War. The pressures and many conditions of the battle are quite different for Sergeant Croft and his men in Norman Mailer's The Naked and the Dead. Recall, for example, the description of the landing on Anopopei. Mailer catches much of the psychological build-up which preceded the attack—the crowded troop ship, the nerves, the mounting tension, the fear; the knowledge all over the ship that "in a few hours some of them were going to be dead."[5] Finally, there were the run to the beach in the assault craft, the shelling and other sounds and sights of the battle which tended to move inland fairly quickly, for the troops pushed ahead a few hundred yards at a time.[6]

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[4] Richard Aldington, Death of a Hero, New York, Covici-Friede, 1929, p. 307.

This is not to deny the similarities; again the war novels describe shelling in two different conflicts. "While the bombardment was knocking the trench to pieces," wrote Hemingway, "he lay very flat and sweated and prayed, 'Oh Jesus Christ get me out of here. Dear Jesus, please get me out . . .' "[7] In The Naked and the Dead, Hennessey has a similar experience. "And then he heard a screaming sound. . . . Instinctively he curled flat in his hole . . . and the earth shook and quivered underneath him in the hold . . . . The explosion came again, and the dirt and the shock, and then another and another blast. He found himself sobbing in the hole, terrified and resentful."[8]

Orientation of Experience

The orientation or organization of an experience involves the way an event is apperceived—because an adult has faced more and different situations than youth, his apperception of a particular event is likely to be different. An individual comprehends a new idea or experience by assimilating it with the mass of ideas or experiences already in his mind. This fact provides an excellent illustration of the concept of kinds of learning, where adults may have superior ability to learn relationally; teaching problems can be seen to vary with the ages of students, which suggests interesting possibilities when the students are adults.

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[5] Norman Mailer, The Naked and the Dead, New York, Rinehart & Co., 1948, p. 3.

[6] In Europe battle lines moved even more rapidly; the writer's battery often advanced twice in a single day in order to keep on top of the doughboys who kept moving forward after a breakthrough.

[7] Ernest Hemingway, In Our Time, New York, Viking Press, 1944, p. 413.

[8] Mailer, op. cit., p. 37.

To revert to the examples provided by the war novels, the views of war presented by Mailer, Hemingway, and Aldington are different in part because they are assimilated with vastly different experiences. Compare Hemingway and Aldington, just to stay within the same generation. Hemingway appears to regard life as an endless struggle against obstacles—and he revels in the struggle; war is the most basic, elemental form the struggle can take and Hemingway faces it if not with joy, at least with eagerness. This is most apparent in his description of the last stand of El Dordo in For Whom the Bell Tolls. More briefly, it is reflected in the interchapter comment from In Our Time:[9]

> It was a frightfully hot day. We'd jammed an absolutely perfect barricade across the bridge. It was simply priceless. A big old wrought-iron grating from the front of a house. Too heavy to lift and you could shoot through it and they would have to climb over it. It was absolutely topping. They tried to get over it, and we potted them from forty yards. They rushed it, and officers came out alone and worked on it. It was an absolutely perfect obstacle. Their officers were very fine.

Aldington, on the other hand, tends to see brutality and inhumanness in war, and he is repulsed by it. In a moving climax to his short story, "Meditation on a German Grave," he writes:[10]

> Brother, terrible silent brother, down there in the dark soil, what have we done to each other, what have we done? . . . Dear murdered boy, your enemy mourns for you. My throat hurts with grief for you and . . . the millions of us, who lie like you, soiled earth under a soiled world.

Finally, it appears unlikely that such views of war could be presented by a young man who had not experienced it. One may undoubtedly learn of war second-hand and write a novel on it as Stephen Crane did in The Red Badge of Courage. But in the final analysis, the adult orientation of his story deals with the psychology of fear in a setting which happens to be war. That is, it is adult in the sense that Shakespeare's plays are adult. On the other hand, successful books by young people are related to youthful experiences. Francoise Sagan's Bonjour Tristesse is a contemporary case in point. It is clever and sophisticated, but it is basically a novel by a precocious adolescent, not a mature woman. Miss Sagan's view of unconventional life and love demonstrates considerable insight into young hearts, but it lacks depth and complications which come when such matters are sifted through the wider and more varied experiences of adulthood.

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[9] Hemingway, op. cit., p. 387.

[10] Richard Aldington, "Meditation on a German Grave," Roads to Glory, New York, Doubleday, Doran & Co., 1931, pp. 3-36.

Implications for Courses

A teacher may well agree that adults have more experience, different kinds of experience, and differently oriented experience, but how can a teacher capitalize on it? What do these things mean to him in planning a course? There are many difficulties connected with the attempt to use experience as a learning device; both teachers and students alike have been distressed by discussions which degenerate into tedious, irrelevant autobiographical commentaries. This has led to the feeling that the use of experience is bound to result in superficial education, unworthy of the university. It is simpler and safer to "stick to the text."

These difficulties can be overcome, however, and they must be if the educational experience is to be truly meaningful to adults. Education at the university level involves the presentation of knowledge, ideas and skills largely at the stage of generalization—to borrow a term from Alfred North Whitehead. With undergraduates this is presented almost entirely within a verbal context, either through reading or listening to an expert. As Sir Richard Livingstone puts it, "The young . . . live on borrowed property." All teaching can and should use experience, but the adult adds a dimension of real life experience which frees him from almost complete dependence on an "expert." Thus, the teaching of adults should never become a question of doing the best one can with experience, perhaps at the expense of university standards, but of using the expert as the complement of experience. Unfortunately no simple formula tells a teacher when, where, and how to capitalize on experience, but it is possible to make some general comments about the problem.

One approach is to examine ways of relating experience to academic or verbal contexts. These methods are familiar to any teacher of adults and need be mentioned only briefly.

First, discussion is a device by which adults can establish relationships between experience and an academic concept or idea under consideration.

Second, materials can be presented in terms of specific situations or problems which may have real meanings to the adult class because adults are involved with these situations.

Third, in many courses, experiences outside the classroom can be assigned or imported; this, of course, is done at any age, but the type of experience should change with the age of the student.[11] Moreover, the possibilities multiply when the students are adults.

Another approach to the problem is to consider ways in which experience may influence a learning situation. These can be classified under four general principles:

First, insofar as experience is part of education, the gaps in experience to be filled when the students are adult are often different from the gaps to be filled with younger students.

Second, additional experience often changes a person's perspective.

Third, much adult experience is first-hand or direct rather than second-hand or indirect; with adults there are special opportunities and obligations to deal with direct experience.

Fourth, experience rarely corresponds exactly to the content of an academic discipline.

To the extent that experience is a component in the learning situation, it is obvious that it applies to youth as well as to older students. Nevertheless, it is possible to suggest ways in which these four principles can be applied to the particular situation where the student is adult.

1. As a result of experience adults know more than youth. Assuming that what they need to know is the same, what they already know is different and so the gap to be closed is different. Furthermore, adult experience is more heterogeneous, which makes the gaps within a group different.

This point was demonstrated very clearly in connection with the Brooklyn College Experiment. One of the assumptions of the project was that some adult experience was equivalent to college credit. Adults were given Area Tests devised by the Educational Testing Service at Princeton. The results indicated that the adults in the program were superior to juniors and seniors in the humanities and to sophomores in the social sciences, but the group had lower scores in the natural sciences. Equally significant, while the general level of attainment was high, frequently there were gaps in the adults' background, reflecting a lack of understanding of fundamentals needed to advance beyond their present accomplishments.[12] In this case the problem involved a total degree program rather than an individual course, but it should give any teacher reason to pause and think before going too far in planning his course for adults. There is a tendency to assume that all students enter the classroom with the proverbial tabula rasa. If the class is composed of adults, the evidence indicates that this is not so.

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[11] The writer is indebted to Harry L. Miller for much of the discussion of methods to capitalize on experience; it is drawn from an unpublished manuscript, prepared for a staff discussion, Spring, 1956.

Gaps may be located in a number of ways, and without resort to formal testing. At a Canadian University, the instructor introduces each topic by inviting questions from his adult students; this helps him identify both the understanding and the gaps in the knowledge of the group. Such a method might be used with young as well as old, but with an important difference—with youth experience would be limited, perhaps to last night's assignment or last year's course, but with adults it would be as broad as life itself.

A second method is to provide adult students with a large and varied selection of material. One professor of philosophy, giving a course in ethics, used a large collection of "snippets," or quotations from a number of inexpensive editions, audio-visual aids; or case studies may be used to deal with the range of experience present in a class of adults. This does not mean that adults thrive on bits and pieces or that the teacher should cater to undisciplined whims of "culture vultures" and women with "little feathers in their hats."[13] It does not absolve the teacher from the responsibility for developing an educational experience, integrated around basic principles, ideas, or concepts, but it does give him an additional obligation to identify gaps that need filling.

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[12] Bernard H. Stern, How Much Does Experience Count: A Report of the Brooklyn College Experimental Degree Project, Chicago, CSLEA, 1955; cf. especially pp. 12-17.

[13] Patterns of Liberal Education in the Evening College: A Case Study of Nine Institutions, Chicago, CSLEA, 1952.

Discussion or other form of involvement provides a third method of discovering how much experience can count. Questions or topics for discussion must be prepared with care so that they do more than test for factual knowledge of a particular assignment. They must be designed to draw out the adult experience in such a way as to relate it to the concept or idea under consideration. Other methods such as reports, individual or group projects, and case studies may help accomplish the same purpose.

The problem of filling the gaps is a difficult one. In part, the second and third methods are more than identification devices—they also help fill the gaps. Beyond that, the principle itself suggests that the teacher must provide for considerable flexibility. In planning a course for adults, perhaps he can do no more than establish the concepts or ideas which are to be incorporated and develop materials or methods for identification of the gaps. At Brooklyn College, it is believed that the solution may be found in individualized instruction. This tends to frighten any administrator for financial reasons—does it make the cost of adult education prohibitive? Not necessarily—perhaps the individual instruction need not be outside the regular class hours. A system involving individual or group projects undertaken during class would permit the teacher to direct attention toward varying needs of the group and free him for personal consultation in a number of directions.

2. The amount and variety of experience may affect adult perspective and this may dictate the organization and approach of a course for adults.

In planning a course in English, John S. Diekhoff points out that there may be considerable difference if the perspective is adult rather than youthful.[14] Both young and old may read Othello, he explains, and with profit and pleasure; but the adult's experience provides him with quite a different point of view from the youth whose experience may be based largely on last week's assignment in the Faerie Queene. Diekhoff also suggests that a father will not write an essay on "My Camping Trip with Junior" with the same enthusiasm that a freshman will report on his trip with dad. The point is well taken, but it should not obliterate the fact that a clever dad—or a well directed one—could write an excellent story about the event from an adult point of view.

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[14] John S. Diekhoff, "Father and Son," The CEA Critic, February, 1955, pp. 1, 3.

Another problem may come from the fact that adults may mislearn from experience. With adults one is constantly faced with opinions and theories based on isolated experiences or on misinterpretations of them. Material may be presented to take this into account by providing for a constant interplay between fact and generalization.

In the eleventh session of Ways of Mankind, Harry L. Miller selected material which could be used for such a purpose.[15] This class session is devoted to a demonstration of the "relationship between skills and attitudes developed by a culture and the environment from which its members must wrest a living." A dramatic recording presents the concepts in terms of Eskimo culture. Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman is used to show how Willy Loman's "dominant values, his ethical splits; the way he educated his children, his family difficulties, all revolve around the central axis of a drive for success as defined by his culture." A documentary film, The City, portrays the inhuman repercussions of the effect of technological change on urban life and contrasts it with urban planning which takes human values and human rhythms into consideration. Finally, an excerpt from Geoffrey Gorer's The American People presents an unfavorable interpretation of American materialism and the consequences for humans who must learn the techniques of its technological way of life. Dr. Miller asks the class to generalize both about the relationship between economic survival and the total culture patterns, and about the possibility of constructing a "social order in which the needs of the people . . . can be made the dominating consideration of an industrial country."

In the final analysis the teacher in the classroom determines whether this achieves the interplay between fact and generalization. Nevertheless, Dr. Miller has anticipated distortions in adults perspective and proves ways to offset them by presenting different sets of facts and generalizations to match the experience of adults, and by encouraging the interplay of fact and generalization in solving a real problem. In other words, material is provided whereby the teacher could plan for such a learning experience.

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[15] Harry L. Miller, The Ways of Mankind: A Discussion Guide and Readings, Chicago, CSLEA, 1953; this was prepared for use with a recorded radio series produced by the National Association of Educational Broadcasters under the supervision of Professor Walter Goldschmidt and under the sponsorship of the Fund for Adult Education. The material for Session Eleven has been reproduced in full Appendix A; it was selected to provide a common reference point in much of the discussion which follows.

3. A great deal of adult experience is related to first-hand activities. If experience is to count in the education of adults, the learning experience should and often can be related directly to the affairs of daily life. This provides adults with opportunities to learn relationally in ways impossible for inexperienced youth.

It is sometimes assumed that youth have superior ability in dealing with abstract principles. This is not necessarily the case, but educational theorists, at least since Aristotle, have pointed out that adults are better than youth in the practical arts of doing. The question of relative ability or interest in abstract principles is important here for its general implications for the education of adults. The alleged inferiority of adults when it comes to dealing with abstractions may be quite the reverse. Often the adult may be reluctant to swallow academic dogmas and verbalisms without checking them against the facts of his own experience; in any case where academic concepts can be related to the practices of adult life, they will be that much more meaningful. The thoughtful adult will test ideas against his own experience and will not accept them purely on the basis of second-hand versions in text or lecture. This does not eliminate the teacher—experience does not provide a school for teaching fools, Poor Richard to the contrary notwithstanding!

For the past two years the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults has worked on a number of projects which attempt to provide a liberally educative experience for adults whose training and vocation have been largely specialized. A fundamental organizing principle has been to relate the learning situation to concrete experiences of vocational life. One of them, an Institute for Journalists, provides for: the identification of job-related concerns of working journalists; the designation of an interdisciplinary faculty team which will prepare working material relating concerns to a wider social, cultural, and human setting; and the conducting of a seminar for journalists based on this material.[16]

The principle need not be incorporated into the course at this basic level. Gradner Murphy points out in his essay, "Individuality in the Learning Process," that adults do not know what they want until they have begun to use it.[17] The educational venture can be made more meaningful where use can be incorporated into the course—and to some extent this can be anticipated. In a Human Relations Workshop at New York University, Daniel Malamud has been successful in using experiences of adults to teach psychological concepts which help them toward better understanding of themselves—the abstract concept is thus related to the concrete, workaday world. Unquestionably the employment of personal experiences might apply at any age level, but the possibilities with adults are almost unlimited. With youth a textbook case may be more effective because youths lack the quantity and variety of experience and because there is less immediate concern with the practical art of doing.

It might be argued that human relations is a natural for this sort of approach, but it can be appropriate elsewhere. This year Northwestern University and the Center for the Study of Liberal Education of Adults will experiment with a "Laboratory College for Adults" which incorporates adult experiences available in the city.[18] These may be social, political, or esthetic, but in each case the theater, the symphony, the local community council, or what have you, all become part of the learning adventure and provide immediate application of the concepts and knowledge being acquired.

4. Experience outside the classroom is never the same as the material in the text used in a conventional academic discipline. This is especially important with adults. Where youth may be limited to a particular area of study, which is defined by the text and the teacher, adults may go off in a number of directions; depending on their experience; this may or may not be relevant.

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[16] The University of California at Berkeley is planning an initial experiment with such an institute for journalists.

[17] Gardner Murphy, "Individuality and the Learning Process," Psychological Needs of Adults, CSLEA Notes and Essays, Number 12.

[18] See Appendix B for a statement describing the objectives and methods of the Laboratory College for Adults.

In a conventional course, a book, series of case studies or other "text" provides material which the teacher believes is necessary to the learning situation. If at least a part of the "text" is to be experience, the problem is complicated but not impossible. A frequent criticism of adult discussion groups is that they go off on a tangent which has nothing to do with the subject at hand. Granting that there are limits, such "irrelevancy" must not necessarily be gaveled down. In fact, apparently extraneous experience may be very relevant with adults—and a useful contribution to the learning experience. One task of the teacher is to help the adult understand how the concepts, theories or values of his particular discipline can be meaningful tools in understanding everyday experience.

Robert Redfield, in his Fund for Adult Education Lectures, points out that one part of the educational experience is the conversation which takes place between the reader and the author of a book, between the listener and the lecturer, the student and the tutor in a group discussion.[19] This conversation is a consideration of alternative ideas or theories in which the receptor matches what he hears or reads or sees with what he knows or believes from his past experience. In any subject, a legitimate object of the teacher can be to prepare material or suggest questions which will contrive to involve adults in these educational dialogues and make them more meaningful. Obviously with adults this process can draw upon a very different and more complex collection of experiences.

In this connection, it may be that adult education offers an unusually good field for experimenting with the disciplinary approach which is receiving so much attention these days. On the one hand there is the variety of experience which comes with maturity; on the other, concepts, values, and theories from many disciplines can provide meaningful tools for understanding everyday life of adults. This is not to say that adult education must be interdisciplinary; rather it offers rich possibilities for such an approach.

To look at experience from the opposite point of view, however, the lack of coincidence between experience and academic disciplines may influence the extent to which experience can count. Quite clearly there are areas of study to which past experience does not contribute very much. In the experiment at Brooklyn College examinations and interviews were used to determine how and where experience could count, and the problem then became filling in the gaps, which unfortunately did not always correspond to a course in the catalogue. Even this is not an impossible problem—and is one that Brooklyn is working on at the present time.

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[19] Robert Redfield, The Educational Experience, Pasadena, The Fund for Adult Education, 1955.

If the course is offered outside the degree program, many of the problems evaporate, but the method of capitalizing on experience should suggest a number of possibilities. Examinations, interviews, group self-analysis can provide clues for a teacher who wants to develop a course to fill gaps in his adult students' experience, rather than cover certain arbitrary, fixed ground.

At Queens College, Herbert Schueler undertook an interesting experiment which attempted to apply the principle of "starting adults where they are." In two different seminars the students were encouraged to help in the planning and direction of the course. It is significant that the two groups planned diametrically opposite roles for experience. In "Values Men Live By" the group decided they had experience which could serve as the major course of material for the seminar. In "The United States in Foreign Affairs" the group discovered they had inadequate background and planned lectures, readings, and so forth to provide a basis for the learning. Significantly, in plans for a second semester the two groups reversed their positions. The philosophy group discovered they had reached a point where outside material was needed while those concerned with international relations believed they were prepared to continue more on their own.

Henry Adams, teacher and commentator on his own education, wrote, "All experience is an arch to build upon."[20] He made the point while confessing that he could not find any value in his second winter in Germany. Adams was often hard put to explain his experience, at least during his early adult years, and today we take some exception to his interpretations when he thought he did have the answer; nevertheless, Education personifies the potential role of experience in the education of adults.

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[20] Henry Adams, The Education of Henry Adams, New York, Modern Library, 1931, p. 87.

Here indeed is an arch or foundation to build upon. Very few of us are destined to become a Henry Adams; our experiences may not be so esoteric and we often may need teachers to help us learn how to learn from them. The point is this: the teacher is losing a wealthy resource if he fails to mine the experience of adults; and he is neglecting an important obligation if he does not help the adult student build upon his experiential arch.

III

EMOTIONAL MEANINGS AND PATTERNS OF THOUGHT

An individual at any age attaches emotional meanings to things, thoughts, and actions, and unless an experience is brand new, he reacts according to fixed patterns of thought. Thus, these factors are not something that are exclusive to the adult learning situation; but, it is important for a teacher to remember that he is dealing with adult emotions and adult thought patterns, and he may therefore need to consider at least some modifications in an approach which is to be especially for adults.

1

The perception of any material or event is influenced by emotional meanings which an individual brings to a particular situation. Each person interprets material or events in contexts which give personal meanings to each individual. It may take the form of "anticipation of a deeper and richer experience," but the emotional meaning is more apt to involve a threat such as fear, guilt, rage.[21] These threats or anticipations are attached to factual material at any age—and youthful emotions may be very intense. Nevertheless, they are likely to be less complicated; furthermore, an adult probably will have more emotional associations and may be inhibited by a greater number of threats.

In Language in Action, S. I. Hayakawa states the same principle somewhat differently when he writes about extensional and intensional meaning.[22] The extensional meaning of a word or phrase is related to the object it points to or denotes in the physical world. The intensional meaning is that which is suggested or connoted in one's head—these are the emotional meanings associated with the word or expression. In one demonstration of his point, the author asks his reader to compare the extensional meanings of the words "porter" and "airline hostess."

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[21] Murphy, op. cit., pp. 7-9.

[22] S. I. Hayakawa, Language in Action, New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1941, pp. 61-64.

In this instance, old and young would probably have the same emotional association, but this is not always so. For example, racial or ethnic prejudices are frequently more deep-seated among older persons. In any consideration of marriage, family or love, an adult's perception may involve a number of contexts which are not characteristic of youth, for example, his own successful or unsuccessful marital relations, his children or lack of them, economic or social marital problems, or his failure to have a spouse.

Few problems can be more troublesome for the teacher than those involving emotional meaning—they are complicated and explosive at any age and possibly more with adults than with youth. One way to handle the situation is to stay on "safe" subjects. The social psychologist does not get into trouble if he talks about group tensions in a theater fire, but he may if his subject is racial integration or communism. A teacher can discuss conspicuous consumption of the movie colony—at least anywhere but Hollywood—but he may become controversial if he follows Veblen's lead and includes sterling silver in the same category. In general, youth tend to be less threatened in such cases and are able to discuss silver or racial integration with fewer emotional complications. A recent personal experience may point up the difference. Rereading my own copy of Veblen's Theory of the Leisure Class, I discovered my marginal notation endorsing Veblen's contention that ownership of sterling silver was conspicuous consumption; now as a silver owner, I find myself wanting to resist the notion!

There are at least two simple ways to avoid problems related to emotional meanings—but with both of them the chances are good that little or no education occurs. One method is to deal exclusively in noncontroversial material; and unquestionably this is an excellent place to commence, but it is rarely adequate. If a course is to have any real meaning in the lives of adults, it is bound to become entangled with emotions.

A second easy way to handle the problem is to restrict the class to lectures. Many teachers avoid the issue by remaining barricaded behind layers of book-learning. They hurl intellectual grenades, accepting the fact that most of the students, who are the targets, remain untouched. Often they state quite frankly that they find themselves teaching only one or two individuals who are the "bright" ones—perhaps because they agree with them. At best the process is called "really shaking them up." Moreover, many adults will insist they prefer this kind of class. In part this may be a phase of the modern American propensity for passive participation, but there are many emotional overtones which help explain the preference. One is a lack of self-confidence or a fear of being shown up by the professor or other members of the group. Another is the feeling that discussion does not get anywhere—and this may result from resistance, intemperate arguments, or "flighting" to cover frustrations and emotional conflicts associated with disturbing facts or ideas. It is much easier to sit quietly, agreeing or disagreeing with the professor's observations—depending upon one's preconceptions. The individual may be disturbed, but the chances are excellent that he neither changes nor learns in the process.

If the students are adults, the teacher must take the more difficult way, which involves recognizing the complex emotional meanings which come with adulthood. It is difficult to suggest precise measures, but Gardner Murphy proposes four practical implications for the teacher of adults.[23] First, he writes, "One must . . . bear constantly in mind that all content is simultaneously intellectual, emotional, and impulse-evolving . . . Secondly, the material is not simply material presented in a book or on a blackboard . . . . It is offered . . . as a modification of the person who is learning . . . . Third, there is no escape from the study of such responses in an individualized fashion . . . . Fourth . . . the individual learns as a member of the group, shares with others the goal of learning, interprets the material as something with respect to which he agrees or disagrees with others, constantly gauges for himself the implications of the knowledge or skill for his own action and place in the group." This is good advice at any age level. If the students are adults, however, it is important to remember that the emotional complications will be different and probably more complicated.

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[23] Murphy, op. cit., pp. 12-13.

In large measure, this is a problem for the classroom itself; but some provisions can be made in planning the course, and many times emotional responses to a theory or set of facts can be predicted—at least in general. At a minimum plans may be made for certain safeguards against the more obvious contingencies. Frequently it may be possible to introduce a session with ideas which would not be particularly disturbing. In presenting material which carries more complicated emotional forces—and particularly negative ones—introductory notes may help to prepare the adult student. Finally, it may be possible—perhaps through discussion—to stimulate the group to anticipate emotional blocks to learning.

Session Eleven of Ways of Mankind attempts many of these things. The original presentation, describing the relation between survival and Eskimo culture, provides a non-threatening device for introducing the basic concept. An introductory note is included to prepare the student, particularly for Geoffrey Gorer's attack on American culture. In other words, it was possible to anticipate that there would be emotional complications if the concept were applied to our own way of life, and there was some attempt to forestall them.

In practice, however, the session has frequently failed to accomplish its purpose because the readings stirred up such a furor. Here arises a question not of the necessity to challenge the student, but of the need to use care about the point at which it is done. Possibly other steps might have been taken to prepare the adult who, perhaps more than youth, has tender emotional feelings about the social and national values challenged in Death of a Salesman and Gorer's essay; and possibly other measures might have been taken before the student was plunged into such deep emotional water. Perhaps more attention could have been devoted to the Eskimo culture—actually, the student does the reading before he hears the record.

At the least, a less noncommittal introduction might have prepared the student for the disturbing material which was to follow—for there might have been some attempt to emphasize the relationship between the concept and the material, or to increase the student awareness of emotional meanings.

Throughout life an individual develops habits, attitudes, ways of thinking which we shall call patterns of thought. They are either inherited from culture and immediate background or are learned from a variety of situations people face in everyday affairs. As an individual moves from one situation to another, he does not find himself in a different world, because his method of handling one situation becomes the instrument for understanding and dealing with another. These patterns of thought may or may not provide the most appropriate way of handling a particular situation, but this is beside the point.

Quite clearly these patterns of thought become more fixed as one becomes older, and adults are more critical than youth of suggestions about changing ways of thinking. All of us recall older persons who exclaim, "Don't tell me how to do this—I've been doing it for years!"—and perhaps as adults we have said the same thing ourselves.

William Whyte's article on "Budgetism" in Fortune Magazine provides a good example of fixed patterns of thought in operation. Whyte pointed out that most young couples saved nothing for emergencies and devoted large shares of their monthly incomes to installment buying. Older neighbors of forty or above tend to be shocked. A typical reaction, according to Whyte, is, "When we were that age we wouldn't have dreamt of getting so much in debt . . . . Even now when we have more than they do, we put off getting things like dishwashers." The memory of a depression and an attitude shaped before the days of social security and other forced savings leaves these people with patterns of thought which reject the new mode of "pay after you went."[24]

The intimate relationship between experience and emotional meanings on the one hand and patterns of thought on the other are obvious—experience provides the stuff from which the patterns are formed and emotions often become inextricably tangled with them. Fixed patterns of thought are not necessarily deplorable, but insofar as education is concerned they tend to be shackles which prevent understanding—in fact, education might be defined as the process of freeing a person from these bonds. This is so at any age, but in a very important sense there is a difference between old and young. Youth, growing toward manhood, must be freed by giving direction—this is part of his preparation for commencement. The adult, who has already commenced, must be freed by changing direction where he is moving or thinking in an inappropriate way. Any teacher is familiar with fixed thought patterns which restrain an individual from understanding the concepts, ideas, or skills of his particular discipline. Often they can be predicted in advance because they tend to be held in common by persons of a given social, economic, or environmental background.

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[24] William F. Whyte, "Budgetism: Opiate of the Middle Class," Fortune Magazine, May, 1956, pp. 133-137; 164-172.

Assuming that it is possible to identify shackles which must be unloosened if an adult is to be liberated, there still remains the task of prying him loose. Many teachers believe that the solution is to plan for more challenge or shock, the assumption being that this is necessary to blast the shackles of the firmly fixed patterns of thought. This notion was consciously employed by Morse Peckham in his experiment at the University of Pennsylvania. At the Institute of Humanistic Studies for Executives, Dr. Peckham granted that at first students were confused and upset by his shock treatment. Ultimately, however, they were freed and able to start learning. This direct approach has the same objections noted in connection with emotional meanings insofar as the fixed patterns are complicated by emotions. It is not a case of rejecting the idea of shock but of selecting the best time and place for it. In part Dr. Peckham may have been successful because the Institute was a residential program in which the students participated for a year; this permitted a period of floundering and resistance.

Patterns of thought are instruments for handling and understanding succeeding situations. If a teacher only destroys a tool which seems to have worked, there is a danger that he merely render a student incapable of acting. This suggests another approach, which starts with a specific situation in the expectation that a careful exploration of familiar ways of acting or thinking will reveal their inadequacy, in other words, designing materials which will lead the adult to the recognition that the familiar pattern is not effective.

The case method offers possibilities for presenting such situations. Professor Everett C. Hughes of the University of Chicago suggested a project which incorporates this approach. He wanted a business or profession to examine conflicting ethical values and individual responsibilities, and he suggested that it could be done through cases. A real estate agent, for example, performs a transaction which may imply responsibilities to the buyer, the seller, his company, the community as a whole, to his non-business ethic norms or values. This kind of approach could easily lead the individual to recognize contradictions in his fixed patterns of thought. Of course the situation need not be presented in a formal case study. History, the social sciences, and literature provide much material which could be used in the same way. In Session Eleven of Ways of Mankind, both plays, The City and Death of a Salesman, could be treated as cases and examined in such a way as to lead a group of adults to question fixed patterns of thought, or they might provide situations where there was no threat to personal worth of the adults' thought patterns.

One advantage of the case study proposed by Professor Hughes and of the material from Session Eleven is that they deal with daily problems that are meaningful to adults. In this connection it is worth repeating that the difference between ages here is one of degree. Youth, too, have fixed patterns of thought which they are in the process of acquiring from home, community, and school; but there are fewer of these patterns, and they tend to be less set.

Some individuals may ask: why separate emotional meanings and patterns of thought from experience? It is a reasonable question; and the object in making the separation here is to isolate special cases rather than different ones. We have considered the importance of experience and the adult's ability to learn relationally, and in the case of emotional meanings and patterns of thought, this same factor may work to slow down learning. This is not to say that emotions will always be an obstacle to learning, but they can be. Either way, emotions and ways of thinking are important considerations for any teacher regardless of subject or age of student. Again the crucial issue becomes the modifications or changes needed for an approach that is especially for adults.

IV

TIME

Time is an important factor in adult education in two senses: the time perspective of adults is different; and the time available for organized educational experience is different.

Inevitably this generalization regarding time will generate numerous exceptions, not only in individual cases but at the level of the generalization itself. It is most apparent, for example, that time perspective does not change once and only once when a youth puts away his toys and becomes a man. If we were to construct a continuum covering the life cycle, the generalization regarding perspective would apply to both ends. It applies less well to the young man of nineteen who is married and earning his living; undoubtedly his perspective tends to remain on the youthful side of the scale. Granting these limitations, however, the generalization still serves a useful purpose for a preliminary exploration of a differential factor which should be considered.

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The time perspective for adults is focused on the present—or at least the finite . . . tomorrow, next month, next year. It is as if the adult looked at his future through powerful field glasses. The youth tends to focus on the infinite. He sees his future through the other end of the same binoculars—it may be clear, but it is a long way off.

In Death of a Salesman there is a striking example of Will Loman's changing time perspective. We get a glimpse of the young Loman selecting his career under the spell of Dave Singleman, the successful salesman who died, still on the job at eighty-four. Perhaps one of the tragedies of the play is Willy's narrowing vision and ultimate recognition that his future and failure are now.

The difference in perspective applies to a backward as well as to a forward look. Many a youngster has been bored by the oldster who reminisces about his past. For the adult the past tends to have meaning; youth tends to be impatient with our forefathers' ways; even something as recent as the depression of the 1930's may be as meaningless as the panic of 1837.

In either direction the question of perspective can have implications for the teacher of adults—and the point is too obvious to require much amplification. As far as the past is concerned both young and old lack the sense of history. The pasts tend to be composed of garbled, disparate incidents which generally are without meaning. The teacher has many opportunities to help students make the present more meaningful through intelligent use of the past, and he can exploit the adult's natural interest in the past—such interest may be forced with younger students, while older ones turn that way willingly.

In the opposite direction, the near-sighted adults often are interested in the present. Contemporaneity can be achieved through the planning, election, and organization of material which is different from the usual undergraduate offering. The Center's proposal for a Laboratory College for Adults is designed to facilitate appreciation and understanding of current activities of the city. Much of its material fits into the adult's time perspective. This is in contrast to a series of traditional courses such as music appreciation, dramatic arts, and urban sociology, although as far as liberal education is concerned the result might be the same. Perhaps this could be used with younger students as well, but it is especially imperative with adults whose point of view toward life tends to be immediate.

Education tends to be a major occupation of youth, but for an adult it can rarely be more than a part-time proposition. Social, economic, and political responsibilities all tend to take precedence over education or, at best, set strict limitations on the time available for study. Furthermore, there are physical limitations: adult faculties are depleted by age as well as by a full-day's work.

It is true that many youths may let studies slide in favor of extracurricular activities. As one professor put it, "The library is the emptiest building on the campus"; but this does not change the fact that education is a major responsibility of youth. Or as another professor said, "You feel you can really pile it on when the individual's full-time occupation is going to school."

A study of leisure time activities of adults in Seattle, Washington, revealed a number of people who had at least vague aspirations to participate in some sort of educational experience. At the same time, most of those interviewed believed they could not cut down the time devoted to a wide variety of responsibilities to home, family, job and social or community activities. A married woman who has decided to return to graduate school to complete her Master's Degree will give up all obligations she has been undertaking in the community. She plans to find time to become a student—this is neither normal nor possible for most adults, but it is for youth.

Although the problem of time is fairly simple to define, it is much more difficult to face. Probably no aspect of adult education receives more criticism, and it almost always becomes a paramount reason for the claim that adult education is superficial. "Adults don't have time to read or won't read," goes the familiar charge, "therefore, what can you expect?"[25] The situation is not quite so black. In the first place certain contradictory generalizations can be made. The traditional academic mind often unconsciously assumes that all truth is written down in books —or at least in the professor's lecture notes, which he plans in due time to publish as a book. Of course this is not so; as we noted earlier, experience can count—perhaps adults do not need to read as many books, or the same ones given to undergraduates. Rather it becomes incumbent upon the teacher to extract knowledge from the adult and to help him make his experience more meaningful. One requirement for an educational experience is "text," which it is important not to confuse with text book, or with some particular book. The "text" may be some audio-visual aid, a demonstration, or an adult experience—the limits are the imagination of the teacher. Part of his challenge is the discovery of "text" which is especially appropriate to adults.

Second, perhaps a teacher should take a hard look at the amount of material he can "cover" in an adult class. In part reductions can be effected by identifying and concentrating on the gaps in knowledge. In addition the teacher may cut down the amount to be covered in a conventional semester or quarter. For example, a teacher might cut his objectives in half and plan for a class which met every other week. This would permit more time for reading and study between sessions as well as reduce the expectations for a given period.[26]

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[25] The charge is usually made with a smug cynicism and made so often that even deans of adult education seem to believe it; at a recent meeting of adult educators, the writer heard the charge repeated a number of times, and no one in the group challenged it.

Finally, there is some reason to believe that adults will read if properly motivated and if expected to do so. In the Basic Program at the University of Chicago, reading assignments average 1700-1800 pages a quarter—and much of it is heavy going. According to Victor Gourevitch, the program director, all students prepare the entire reading list regularly.[27] On the other hand, if expectations are low, if the readings are duplicated in lectures or ignored, most students will not read—and this is so at any age.

Unfortunately, these generalizations do not eliminate the time problem, but one can add a number of practical suggestions which may help provide "text" for adults with limited time for study. One of the most familiar is the ever increasing supply of paper books. A visit to any bookstore is a constant reminder of the wide variety, the ready availability, and the relative inexpensiveness of an excellent selection of material. It goes without saying that an adult may be able to read when he can own these portable editions; though he may not be able to keep an eight-hundred page text constantly at his side and he may not be able to find a solid block of free time for a trip to the library.

Similarly, a second helpful practice involves excerpting important material. Whether it is mimeographed or printed and bound, the adult is more apt to read it than he is a library assignment where the same material may be untouched, even assuming the very best intentions.

A third possibility involves the use of audio-visual aids. Many teachers express doubts—or fears—about them, but there is considerable evidence now that they can be an effective supplement to and substitute for other learning devices. Used extensively in military and

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[26] The writer is indebted to Professor Coolie Verner, who developed and has used this method successfully with some extension classes in Florida.

[27] The Basic Program is a four year curriculum for adults; it offers liberal education through a study of great works from our civilization and heritage.

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industrial training programs, they also offer possibilities in liberal education for adults. For example, they may activate experiential knowledge which is either dormant or misunderstood. At Humble Oil Company, Leroy Wilke, the education director, has developed an effective program in human relations, based on commercial films such as Les Miserables. In Ways of Mankind, Harry L. Miller has combined films and reading with the phonograph recordings which were the basis of the original course developed by the Fund for Adult Education. In plans for the Center's Laboratory College for Adults at least some of the text is replaced with the live audio-visual aids found in the city itself.

Finally, perhaps the classroom itself may be used for reading and study. Some of the work in the Basic Program is done in sessions called tutorials in which the group examines and discusses readings almost paragraph by paragraph. In some cases it might be possible to develop individual or group projects to be undertaken during part of the class period with reference and study materials available in the seminar room.

Some educators will remain unconvinced that such measures are not "soft teaching." Perhaps in one sense they are, but we may ask whether this is necessarily bad. One argument against films, shorter reading assignments and the like is that university-level education does not take place without effort by the learner; they tend to see "gimmicks" as attempts to make learning effortless. There is no doubt that it happens, but is it inevitable? We must be careful not to confuse puritanical objectives with educational objectives. The Puritan sets great stock in hard work and constant striving toward higher goals, and there is much to commend the virtues; but the very expenditure of effort is not a measure of learning.

If hard work is needed for one to master a particular subject, let the work be done. On the other hand, the teacher of adults must be realistic about time. There are limits—and there will continue to be limits in spite of the trend toward more leisure. This leads to two assumptions underlying the chapter. First, there is no point in setting up a project that demands more time than the adult can or will give. This does not mean that the teacher must compromise on quality. Second, unless it be a course in Puritan Virtues 101, there is no educational value in hard work. This means that it is important that we measure the device or approach against learning outcomes and not against effort. This might apply to teaching at any age; here we have attempted to suggest implications for the education of adults.

V

MOTIVATIONS

Every type of material has what Gardner Murphy calls an action tendency. That is, it stimulates in the listener such thoughts as "This means I must discontinue doing such and such." Of course this should not be taken too literally; the material may stimulate thoughts, with relevance to action being quite remote. Another psychologist, Raymond Kuhlen, divides these urges into positive forces of the urge for expansion and negative forces of defense against losses.[28] These concepts apply to the entire range of human activities and to all ages. The difference again is the important one of degree.

Adult motivations are more complex than youth's; they are directed toward practical objectives and are more action-oriented. Youth lack the experience to know what life is all about, and they tend to assume less responsibility for their actions. For youth, adults have designed elaborate educational programs which are supposed to prepare one for life. Since youth's immediate motivation is stimulated by a desire to conform to their elders' expectations, for better or for worse, they conform to the prescribed program leading toward commencement. This does not imply that young people do not have ambitions to be doctors, lawyers, captains of industry, or labor leaders; but in order to achieve their goals, they follow the curriculum expected of them by their elders. Thus, they will study Spanish or even Latin because they are expected to do so, whereas adults may resist for practical reasons. Implicit in their ambitions, youthful motivations tend to be positive—they reflect an urge for expansion.

Adult motivations are more practical and are generally tied to objectives for the immediate future. Furthermore, as one becomes older

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28. Raymond Kuhlen, "Patterns of Adult Development," Psychological Needs of Adults, in Notes and Essays, Number 12, Chicago, CSLEA, 1955, pp. 17-20.

there is a tendency for defensive forces to become dominant at the expense of positive urges. Among younger adults the motivation may be economic, like that of the man who expects promotions as a result of education. "Would you go through all this grief a couple night a week," he asks, "unless it paid off?" It may be upward mobility like that of the young woman who wants to "move in the right circles"; she went to evening college to broaden her personality and increase her social skills, so she could meet people of the "right kind." In many other cases, the forces may be negative—or at best a mixture of both. This becomes more evident at middle age and after. As one woman put it, "I thought I'd stagnate if I didn't do something different."

Van Wyck Brooks, in The Flowering of New England, comments on the intellectual activities of Elihu Burritt, the "learned blacksmith" from Worcester, Massachusetts.[29] His aim was "to stand in the ranks of the workingman of New England and beckon them onward and upward to full stature of intellectual men." A self-taught linguist, he made a version of Longfellow in Sanscrit and mastered over forty other tongues.

It is enough to make the contemporary teacher of adults sigh for the good old days when giants roamed the earth! Actually Burritt's motivations were probably little different from those which send young men of the twentieth century to evening college. His intellectual pursuits were universally admired in New England and as such were a route to success. Ultimately the learned blacksmith left the forge to lecture and write on pastoral subjects and to serve as consul at Birmingham, England.

Today the opportunity to study forty languages will not motivate many adults simply because our society does not place much value on such accomplishments. The present university program in liberal education for adults is not quite so esoteric as Burritt's self-imposed one

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29. Van Wyck Brooks, The Flowering of New England, New York: E. P. Dutton Co., Inc., 1936, pp. 175-176; in his diary for 1837, Burritt wrote: "Monday, June 18, headache; forty pages Cuvier's Theory of the Earth, sixty-four pages French, eleven hours forging. Tuesday, sixty-five lines of Hebrew, thirty pages of French, ten pages of Cuvier's Theory, eight lines Syriac, ten ditto Danish, ten ditto Bohemian, nine ditto Polish, fifteen names of stars, ten hours forging. Wednesday, twenty-five lines Hebrew, fifty pages of astronomy, ten hours forging . . . . "

sounds to us today. Nevertheless, perhaps one could ask whether its content was too academic to motivate adults.

As far as motivation goes, the easiest appeal is to vocation; this is particularly so with younger adults, men and women "on the make." Whether it is business administration or liberal arts, the adult may be motivated to go through the long credit grind or a series of courses if it prepares him for promotion or a better position. This does not mean that credit courses could not be improved to make them more appropriate for adults. Rather it suggests that adults may put up with a great deal if a specific reward is in the offing. The great deal may be the number of useless credit courses designed for youth; it may be the number of training courses which should be taught on the job; or it may be an instance of a broad and deep educational experience, appropriate to adults.

Another easily motivated group of adults are those who are dominated by the negative forces of defense against losses. More often than not, they have reached middle age and recognize limits to their physical capacities, to their chances for advancement on the job, to their roles at home and in the community. Confused and threatened, some of them turn to the university; they are in almost every adult classroom—the lonely hearts, the argumentative debaters with their dogmatic and often angry assertions, the drifting culture-seekers who keep coming year after year. Easy to have and to hold, they are a headache for both teacher and student. For the conscientious teacher the solution is not necessarily separation; nor is it cynical acceptance of the fact that many adults come to college to escape. Rather, a good course for adults should help these individuals discover new motivations.

Perhaps a teacher can plan his course so as to stimulate an urge for horizontal expansion. The term is used to distinguish it from the ambitious, upward mobility of youth or younger adults. The assumption is that it should be possible to motivate individuals to expand in depth, to make their lives more meaningful. While this is a function of education at any age, it has special implications for older persons when defensive forces tend to predominate; furthermore, it has special relevance for learning in depth which tends to be appropriate for adults. Technically, the urge for horizontal expansion might be considered as a positive force; but it is different from other positive forces in the sense that in most cases it does not exist, in any conscious form at least. Instead of catering to escape the teacher can try to plan his course to help create urges for horizontal expansion. It goes without saying that this is a most difficult motive to arouse, but is a most satisfying accomplishment from the teacher's point of view, not to mention its good effect on the student.

Before we discuss ways to implement this objective, a third type of motivation should be considered, the urge to study as a result of avocational interests or ambitions. This is a broad term used to cover an individual's desire to gain additional skill or knowledge in understanding himself or his role in the home or the community. In some cases the individual is—or should be—a college graduate who returns to the classroom for intermittent refreshment or an opportunity to continue an education which he only commenced when he earned his degree. In any case the adult of this variety does not come back for more undergraduate education. Frequently adults come to the university and enroll in international relations, music appreciation, urban sociology or other subjects because they expect them to serve some avocational purpose. If a course smacks of the ivory tower rather than the daily interests and needs of adults, however, the motivation may by itself not be enough. Dean Wayne A. R. Leys of Roosevelt University has advocated an avocational master's degree for this purpose. He has pointed out that people do not just take a master's degree; at present it provides professional training for which the motivation is clear. His suggestion provides for tapping non-vocational ambitions in a comparable fashion. Although Dean Leys was thinking in terms of a curriculum, the principle applies to individual courses, because the case is one not of an arbitrary selection from the current college catalogue, but of the development of new courses which are especially for adults.

The field of international relations provides a number of interesting examples of the failure to reach avocational motivations in terms of course topics. At the height of the controversy over recognition of Red China, a Cleveland university offered a lecture course on the subject—not a single person registered. In the midst of the cold war, a university in Chicago offered a course called "Life under Communism." It was listed in three different quarters and a total of three students appeared.

Both of these were subjects which should have concerned intelligent and responsible citizens; yet in two large metropolitan areas, they did not motivate enough persons for the classes to be held.

Why were adults not motivated? Certainly there is no simple answer, but one reasonable hypothesis would be that adults saw no immediate use or application for the knowledge they might acquire.[30] In other words, the adult may ask: what can I, the man in the street, do about it? Contrast the relative success of ethics courses dealing with contemporary uneasiness over values by which men should live. The adult comes to the university with practical situations in mind—and situations he can act upon.

Is the answer to continue courses in ethics and drop international relations?[31] Before concluding that adults will not study international relations—or many other so-called liberal arts—one may well make sure that the course cannot be planned so as to appeal to the adult's avocational interests or so as to redirect his motivations away from pure escape. This approach would depend largely on the subject matter and the particular educational situation; however, three general possibilities can be suggested.

One approach involves the rekindling of the childish impulse to wonder and to question. Robert Redfield calls this aspect of education "exploration." Obviously adult wonderment should concern different things. Dr. Redfield points out that boys collect marbles and pictures of baseball players; it is more normal for adults to be interested in morals, the arts or in improving their judgment about values. The process cannot be reversed; and "if one remains throughout life with marbles and ball players, education is clearly arrested."[32] The exploration and testing of an idea, no matter how unpopular, can be exciting education and stimulating to adults in search of greater meaning and understanding of life.

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[30] Other reasons for lack of motivation would be plain apathy and a belief that mass media provide adequate understanding; furthermore it is not merely a teacher's problem but an administrative one of reaching qualified adults—it is inconceivable that they do not exist in cities the size of Chicago or Cleveland.

[31] Unfortunately this is the way it often works in practice; if the course is not popular, out it goes or in many cases is not offered at all; adult educators frequently comment: "I'd like to offer more liberal arts, but adults just aren't interested."

[32] Redfield, op. cit., p. 19.

Eric O'Connor, Dean of Thomas More Institute for Adult Education, put this eloquently when he wrote, in part: first, liberal adult education "need not lead directly to a professional skill . . . . Second: It is *not* true that what people need is clear simple answers *nor* that opening further questions simply confuses them. It *is* true that we all need symbols by which our faith in life . . . is made operative in our sensibility and emotions; but to confuse this fact with the claim that intelligence should be restricted is simply obscurantism. . . . *Third*: Ordinary people are interested in the questions that theology, philosophy, literature, and science deal with. . . . There is life and adventure in exploring the works of man's mind."[33]

A second approach is one that is the basis for many adult discussion groups. This is a desire for rationality—for an opportunity to talk things over and untangle their own doubts, to measure their values against those of other mature individuals, to attempt to understand what they know. In a valedictory address to his colleagues at Syracuse University, T. V. Smith spoke about the things he planned to do when he retired. One of them applies to adults before retirement as well as after. "Passing from action to understanding, retirement will give me a chance to comprehend more things more fully . . . . As action gets maximized understanding gets minimized in the life of man. The day after I returned to my university from three years in the army I said to a group of graduate students: 'The trouble with us veterans is that we know so much more than we understand.' . . . Nor is incomprehension confined to war. Peace has its own vast unirrigated tracts . . . . There are indeed books to be read . . . and there are experiences to be thrashed out to distill what meaning they may have while there is still light to read by and intuition to guide attention."[34]

At the expense of laboring the point it is worth repeating that this kind of motivation is not satisfied by the conventional academic course. It must be directed toward understanding the things adults know about from experience. As Dean Wayne A. R. Leys put it, the adult "does not want poetry; he wants poems for consolation when his daughter has married a bum. He does not want ethics; he wants ethics for an honest man who has an unscrupulous boss." He does not want undergraduate or graduate scholarship; he wants a professional consultant, a sort of resource person who can bring his discipline to bear on adult problems.[35]

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[33] R. Eric O'Connor, *Dean's Report, 1954-1955*, Thomas More Institute for Adult Education, Convocation, May 16, 1955.

[34] T. V. Smith, "The Leisure of the Theory Class," *Saturday Review*, August 25, 1956, pp. 9-10, 28-29.

The Great Books program or the discussion programs of the Fund for Adult Education are examples of successful exploitation of these adult motives. Often criticized as glorified "bull sessions," there is nothing inherent in such groups which makes them so. They can be conducted at any level, and with some care in planning and with good leadership, they can become effective conversations which are crucial to education.

A third approach might be by way of adult social roles as formulated by Robert J. Havighurst. He looks at life as a succession of stages, each one with sets of developmental tasks which are determined by the expectations of society. Our expectations change as we move from one society to another or from one social class to another, but they also change as the individual grows from babyhood to old age. Just as we do not expect the same performance from an adolescent that we do from a baby, so we have different expectations from an adult. It is commonly accepted that youth have developmental tasks, but we may forget that adulthood is not all smooth sailing—it has its transitions and its developmental periods in almost as complete a sense as earlier ages.[36]

Havighurst's tasks of middle age include: (1) setting adolescent children free and helping them become responsible and happy adults; (2) discovering new satisfactions in relations with one's spouse; (3) creating a beautiful and comfortable home; (4) working out an affectionate but independent relationship with one's aging parents; (5) reaching the peak in one's work career; (6) achieving mature social and civic responsibility; (7) accepting and adjusting to the physiological changes of middle age; (8) making an art of friendship; (9) making a satisfying and creative use of leisure time; (10) becoming or maintaining oneself as an active club or organization member; and (11) becoming or maintaining oneself as an active church member.

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[35] Wayne A. R. Leys, "The Two Roles of the University in Adult Education," Journal of Higher Education, January, 1955, pp. 12-14.

[36] Robert J. Havighurst, Developmental Tasks and Education (2nd ed.), New York, Longmans, Green & Co., 1954, and "Social Roles of the Middle-Aged Person: A Method of Identifying the Needs of Adults," Notes and Essays, Number 4, Chicago, CSLEA, 1953.

This provides countless suggestions for planning courses which might motivate adults, particularly if these general categories are broken down into any of a number of specific roles performed by persons in our society. To return to the original problem, it should be possible to motivate adults if it is international relations for individuals performing the role of labor leader or for federal civil servants or for members of the Junior League. Each one would be different in certain ways which reflected differing roles, and there might be many other courses for those adults who wanted to explore or to talk things over. All of them could be conducted at a university level and still be different from the regular course.

VI

A POLEMIC AND A CONCLUSION

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So much for adults—how about their university teachers? With good cause, most faculty are concerned when attempts to tamper with curriculum seem to threaten standards. The question is inevitable in connection with the tampering which has been suggested here.

One of the original series of courses produced by the staff of the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults was Invitation to Literature.[37] Its author, Russell F. W. Smith, invited adults to examine literature for insights into fairly basic human problems. These themes and variations included jealousy, the battle of the sexes, the net of circumstances, the Faustian man; there were many others but this should be sufficient for illustrative purposes. The guide was sent to a number of scholars for criticism, and one of the replies is an interesting indication of both the apprehension and a fundamental problem which must be faced in the liberal education of adults. "The fundamental question," wrote this professor of English, "is whether the course is intended to introduce men and women to literature, or whether the literature in the title is just a cultural 'come-on' to attract adults to a pleasant evening where each one can air his own private opinions on the sick artist, the proud man, love and war and the battle of the sexes. It would be a pleasant . . . evening, to air one's views and argue with the insurance man about the Faustian man . . . . But this is not an introductory course in literature . . . . On the other hand, if the 'theme' notion is simply a way to get started and to get the adults to read literature, and the final aim is to understand Othello and the rest as literature, then it seems to me that far more extensive materials are needed in the discussion manual."

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[37] Russell F. W. Smith, Themes and Variations: An Invitation to Literature, Chicago, CSLEA, 1953.

Disregarding the academic snobbery, this individual's letter reflects a genuine concern, but its author seems to have missed points which are fundamental to education in general and to adult education in particular. First, assuming that certain approaches and certain content have been effective in achieving the objectives of good undergraduate or graduate education, it does not follow that the same means and content are appropriate for adults. Further, with adults, there may be some necessity to question the ends of a course itself.

The first point has been considered in detail. The professor was scornful of the views of the insurance man but we know that experience can count. If adults know more than youth and the gaps to be filled are different, it seems reasonable to expect that the course should be different. To question the objectives of a course itself is something quite different. Nevertheless it seems a fair statement to say that most university courses at the undergraduate as well as at the graduate level are designed for specialists, or at least for potential majors in the field. The person who takes course A is prepared to take course B and on up until he earns a doctoral degree. This traditional view is based firmly on the idea that an introductory course is required for further work in the same field. At least with adults, it is open to serious question.

In the first place, adults have a vocation and do not want to become specialists in history or Greek or sociology; they want professional help which will enable them to live more meaningfully and effectively. Secondly, no man has time or energy to master the background in many fields, not to mention becoming an expert. Finally, there is no intellectual justification for it.

In the introductory paragraphs of The Life of the Bee, Maurice Maeterlinck makes a very remarkable statement of his intentions. It could become the maxim for any teacher concerned with the liberal education of adults. "It is not my intention to write a treatise on apiculture, or on practical bee-keeping . . . . The notes and experiments I have made during my twenty years of bee-keeping I shall reserve for a more technical work; for their interest is necessarily of a special and limited nature, and I am anxious not to overburden this essay. I wish to speak of bees very simply, as one who speaks of a subject one knows and loves to those who know it not . . . . My facts shall be as accurate as though they appeared in a practical manual or scientific monograph, but I shall relate them in a some what livelier fashion than such works would allow, shall group them more harmoniously together, and blend them with freer and more mature reflections. The reader of this book will not learn therefrom how to manage a hive, but he will know more or less all that can with any certainty be known of the curious, profound and intimate side of its inhabitants."[38]

In somewhat less rhetorical terms, what adults need are concepts, ideas and scholarly ways of understanding, thinking or dealing with situations which they face in daily life. Thus, a function of Invitation to Literature is not to understand "Othello and the rest as literature," but to show how literature can help deal with the humane problems of mature people. Similarly, Harry L. Miller's guide, Understanding Human Behavior, ignores vast stretches of social psychology, but it does introduce concepts which can help adults understand and face many experiences in "group interaction which is part of the conscious lives of all mature people." [39]

Such objectives need not imply superficial education which does not befit university scholarship. This is not the place to discuss the meaning of the term, "university-level," but one point does seem clear. In connection with the university's public responsibilities, there are obligations which take the university faculty beyond the campus. In part this means providing consultative services, but it also means translating its own competencies into useful skills for laymen—old as well as young. In the society beyond the campus, there is a tendency for rhetoric to replace logic, for wish-fulfillment to replace rigorously tested statements. This is partly a weakness of the world of action and partly a lack of skill. In either case it indicates the province and potential contribution of the scholar.[40] As such it need not be entire courses and it can be at university levels.

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[38] Maurice Maeterlinck, The Life of the Bee, trans. by Alfred Sutro, New York, The New American Library of World Literature, Inc., 1954, pp. 13-14.

[39] Harry L. Miller, Understanding Group Behavior, Chicago, CSLEA, 1953, p. 2.

[40] Cf. Kenneth D. Benne, Adult Education in the University, an address at the Fourth Leadership Conference for University Adult Education, March, 1956; Dr. Benne was the inspiration for the notion presented here.

In thinking about the problem of good educational experience for adults one may be tempted to place too much faith in material. It is not a substitute for effective teaching; devices cannot be built into a course which will guarantee effective adult education—and there are many dismal flops to prove it. At the same time this does not mean that good material and careful planning will not help, and this analysis has been concerned primarily with the problems of planning a good education for adults.

Commencing with the very obvious, planning for any age involves problems of two sorts. First, there is the problem of selection of the subject matter, both in terms of objectives and in terms of appropriateness of content for the group or age in question. Second, there is the problem of organization of content; this takes into consideration such factors as the limits and possibilities of the educational situation and the planning of individual sessions.

In either case it may be helpful to take into consideration the special characteristics of adults. These characteristics, in other words, become the basis for a kind of check-list. There are dangers in working from such a list. At one extreme there is a tendency to see it as a collection of alternatives among which the teacher selects one or two. At the other, the list cannot be used as a pat formula whereby a dash of this and a dash of that add up to a perfect adult education pie. The characteristic differences provide a flexible check-list of possibilities. In some cases they may indicate factors which can be exploited; in others, they may indicate special problems of adults which must be solved; and in still others, they may not apply to the educational situation in question.

Good teachers do this automatically—and without anything so formal or forbidding as a check-list. By habit and training, the teacher knows that some things which are effective for high school are inappropriate for university undergraduates. Since it is relatively new to think about courses which are especially for adults, the list may be a useful way to approach the task.

Finally, to restate the hypothesis, the crucial point is not a list of special techniques, but the fact that special characteristics of adults require special treatment which can be provided in part in planning the educational situation, each teacher must determine how to make his course especially for adults.

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This essay, then, has attempted to identify certain characteristics of the adult as student—or potential student—and to suggest that a teacher can take these characteristics into consideration in planning his course. It does not mean that the teacher must use a particular set of techniques of methods; but it does mean that he may do things differently if the course or educational experience is to be especially for adults.

Adults have more experience, different kinds of experience, and it is differently organized. First, it is possible to equate knowledge with experience and to identify gaps in knowledge in academic terms. Assuming that what we need to know may be the same at any age, the gaps will be different when the students are adults. Second, experience can be the raw data for much adult education, and one problem is to help adults learn how to learn from experience. Third, adult experience may influence adult perspective toward the "texts" of education—Othello has different meanings at different ages. Fourth, experience can be vital in education of adults which is concerned with exploration and testing of ideas.

The meanings which we as individuals attach to a particular event (thought, thing, or action) are always influenced by our emotions. It may be a feeling of anticipation or it may be one of guilt, fear, or threat. Obviously, this is not distinctive to adulthood. As teachers, it is important for us to realize that there may be different emotional meanings if the students are adults—and not only different; they may be more complicated by the accretions of years of living. In large measure this may be a problem of the classroom, but it should be given some attention in planning the course for adults.

Throughout life every individual develops patterns of thought which provide him with instruments for dealing with situations in the outside world; for better or for worse they tend to become fixed. Implicit in education is the assumption that some of the patterns of thought do need to be modified or changed. When the students are adults the patterns tend to be more fixed and tougher to change. With youth the teacher often gives direction, with the adult the problem may be to change it—and the teacher of adults must take it into consideration when planning his course.

Time is an important factor in planning for the education of adults. First, it is necessary to realize that the time perspective tends to be different for adults. For youth the view ahead appears to be infinite and the past, finite; for adults it is the other way round. The point of view can be important in planning the course. Second, the actual time available for education is different. For most undergraduates, attending school is the full-time job; at best it can be only second in importance to major economic and social responsibilities of adults. There is a temptation to conclude that this must mean inferior education, but this need not follow if the teacher accepts the challenge of providing excellent education with the given time limits.

Finally, the teacher must pay some attention to factors which motivate adults. At any age motivations may be primarily positive urges for expansion or they may be defenses against losses. With adults, if they are positive, they may be based on economic or social upward mobility. This sort of drive may permit a teacher to impose just any old set of lectures on his adults, or it provides a unique opportunity for him to capitalize on or exploit these drives.

It must also be recognized that many adults come to the university for defenses against losses. The challenge to the teacher in such cases is to transform the motivation into an urge for horizontal expansion—an urge that may exist in some adults. Here it may be necessary to create special courses for adults which will stimulate continuing liberal education aimed at increasing individual breadth and wisdom. Needs for such a group are not satisfied by returning to school for more undergraduate courses. Here, as in the recognition of the other characteristics, the responsibility of and challenge to the teacher is the development of courses which are especially for adults.

WAYS OF MANKIND

Eleventh Session: Technology

Suggested Reading: Geoffrey Gorer, "Character and Technology in America"

The recording for this session dramatically illustrates the relationship between the skills and attitudes developed by a culture and the environment from which its members must wrest a living. Without necessarily subscribing to a doctrine of economic determinism, most social scientists agree about the overwhelming importance of what Murphy has called "self-maintenance mores"; for, of all the accepted ways of acting and thinking found in any culture the safety of the culture is felt by its members to rest most squarely on those which involve survival.

But there are complicated and significant differences between survival techniques developed by the pre-literate Eskimo as he faces the demands of his cruel environment and wrestles with them personally, and the techniques which men in a complicated machine technology develop in response to the highly elaborate systems of relationships of our economic order.

The Gorer excerpt points out some of the most important of these techniques and their consequences for the humans who must learn them. Perhaps no better picture exists of what happens to the individual who cannot learn them adequately than in Arthur Miller's Death of a Salesman (available in pocket books). The importance of self-maintenance mores as a keystone of our culture can be seen if you look at Willy Loman, its central figure, in terms of how the other aspects of culture we have been looking at separately relate to this central economic struggle. Willy's dominant values, his ethical splits, the way he educated his children, his family difficulties, all revolve about the central axis of a drive for success as defined by his culture.

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Suggested Films:

THE CITY, sound, 16 mm, black and white, 30 minutes. available from your local film library, or from the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, 11 W. 53rd St., New York, N. Y.

This classic American documentary is a dramatic study of the affect of technological change on urban life, making the point that as our cities responded casually to the insatiable demands of a developing technology they lost sight of human values and human rhythms. The inhumanity of the city is contrasted with what can be done in the way of urban planning, but most of the film is devoted to a really exciting picture of the city, as an environment, in all its grimy frustration, emotional isolation, danger, and anxiety.

NANOOK OF THE NORTH, 16 mm, black and white, sound, 80 minutes. Available from your local film library, or from the Museum of Modern Art Film Library, address given above.

This is probably too long a film for the ordinary class session length, but it occasionally turns up in some commercial theaters and you should not miss seeing it if the opportunity presents itself.

The first of the great American film documentaries, NANOOK was filmed in the 'twenties by Robert Flaherty. It presents, simply and movingly, the day-by-day struggle for survival of an Eskimo and his family, and the techniques which he uses to adapt to the harsh Arctic environment.

Food for Thought:

The easy acceptance by most people of the necessity of our particular cultural patterns of survival has not been too much disputed by the social sciences. Occasionally, however, sharp questions are raised about the desirability of change, and the need not only for social scientists but for Americans generally to investigate the possibilities of encouraging different ways of building the need to make a living into the culture. The Gorer article raises some of these questions by comparing the American culture with others. THE CITY asks the question more sharply when, as the camera views the stone heart of the city, it says, not "The people yes . . ." but "the people, perhaps."

For, by putting the main emphasis in the culture on the individual struggle for pecuniary self-interest, we underplay other needs of people, needs which W. I. Thomas once described as "the four wishes"—for security, new experience, recognition, and emotional response.

Is it possible, then, to construct a social order in which the needs of people, needs such as those mentioned here, can be made the dominating consideration in the economy of an industrial country?

CHARACTER AND TECHNOLOGY
IN AMERICA*

This article is an excerpt from Geoffrey Gorer's The American People. The book is a study of our national character by an English anthropologist who spent some time working in America. Because Gorer has a tendency to over-generalize and over-extend his basic insights, the article should probably have a sign on it saying READ WITH CAUTION. Nevertheless, the insights themselves are stimulating, challenging, and often witty.

If you wish to do further reading of the book you will probably much enjoy his early chapters on the American family: "Europe and the Rejected Father," "Mother-land," and "The All-American Child."

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American technology developed with the industrial revolution; for obvious historical reasons the elaborate artistic crafts—for example, fine weaving, cabinetmaking, fine glass, goldsmith's work—which date from several centuries earlier and which were developed in a long tradition of apprenticeship, were never indigenous to the United States. As the demand for these fine products developed, Americans first of all imported the finished articles and subsequently the craftsmen who had learned their trades in Europe. They then proceeded to analyze systematically the finished article, the implements used for making it, and the gestures which the skilled craftsmen employed; they questioned the necessity, the validity of each implement, of each gesture; and they then devised machines to do as much of the work as possible, and reduced the gestures to a series of controlled and analyzed movements which could often be learned in fewer hours than the original craftsmen took months to learn their skills. In some cases, of course, the final products had less individuality, less finish, fewer lasting qualities than the ori-

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[*] From The American People, by Geoffrey Gorer, copyright, 1948, by W. W. Norton and Company, Inc.

ginal craftsmen's creations; but they were produced in millions instead of hundreds, and so much less labor time was involved in their making that replacement ceased to be a problem.

This process is still continuing. It is well known that the greater number of scientists who made the development of the atomic bomb possible learned their craft in Europe, whatever their country of allegiance. Perhaps even more striking is the current development of rocket weapons, of the V-2; here the whole historical process was recapitulated. America started by acquiring the finished product, the German rocket, through capture, and analyzed that; then she imported the craftsmen, the German scientists, and analyzed their behavior; and then, when these analyses had been completed, she set about producing bigger and better rockets, capable of going higher and traveling farther than the German originals, and—one does not doubt, though as far as I know it has never been officially disclosed—able to be produced in enormous quantities.

Besides the analysis of skills, which has been part of the American attitude toward the world for the greater part of its independent history, there has been the analysis of the gestures and movements of workers, as parts of the machine process, which has been the distinguishing mark of American development in the twentieth century, and with which the names of Taylor, Ford, and Bedaux have been particularly connected. Mass production depended on three things: the invention of the endless band, the fragmentation of the mechanical process, and the analysis of the gestures needed at each stage of the process to advance it to the next stage. This last was the most essential part; unless this was done the other components would have been ineffective, for it would have been impossible otherwise to have achieved and maintained the even speed which is an essential part of the assembly line.

For the worker this development has meant the consistent depreciation of specialized skill as a component of his value in the labor market. The complication of the engineer's profession has become increasingly greater; but the greatest number of jobs in modern mass manufacture can be learned in, at most, a few hours and perfected in a few weeks; and good physical co-ordination and stamina are often more valuable qualities than skill. The worker's emotional or intellectual connection with his job is minimized; housing and schools may keep him in one place but not professional interests; Americans can and do change jobs with the greatest of ease and almost any motive is justifiable.

It is worth noting that the extremely slight emotional connection with one's job and, often, ignorance of the end-product are not consciously felt by Americans to be a deprivation. When the details of the manufacture of the atomic bomb were made public, most Europeans (I among them) and a few Americans with European values thought that the tens of thousands of workers engaged in work whose end-product nobody knew, must have felt supremely demoralized, disspirited, and frustrated, almost as though they were engaged in forced prison labor. But this was not the case. Numerous conversations with former workers at Oak Ridge and the other atomic plants demonstrated that it was not felt to be different (except for the isolation) from any other job paying similar money for similar hours.

From the point of view of the engineer, the man is part of the machine, performing movements which no machine—so far—has been devised to do. This view is perforce accepted by the worker; he has no choice but to admit that his body can be used as an adjunct to a machine, that his muscular strength and co-ordination are raw materials to be exploited in the most efficient and economical way, that his work should consist in learning a few routines and repeating them endlessly. It would appear that this is not consciously felt to be humiliating or degrading by the majority of workers, but is rather accepted as a necessary condition of life; the monotony of the work is made tolerable by daydreaming; and more attention is directed to the conditions of work than to the fact that one's personality and skill are almost completely divorced from the occupation of so many working hours. But though such conditions are accepted, there is evidence to suggest that they are, perhaps unconsciously, felt to be unsatisfying; the very great mobility of unskilled American labor and the high turnover at most mass-production plants indicate a general feeling of restlessness and searching; and this mobility has as a secondary result an increase in the loneliness and isolation Americans dread so much.

This lack of involvement in one's job would seem to have two major psychological derivatives: a diminishing of concentration; and an increase in the avoidance of boredom outside one's job. These two aspects are really complementary: only a moron could, or would need to, concentrate deeply on the uniform repetition of an ordained series of movements; and so work hours are inevitably hours of boredom made tolerable by diffuse daydreaming. Though this boredom is not considered humiliating it is considered painful (as, earlier, physical fatigue was considered painful) and every effort is made to avoid its repetition outside working hours. Hence the entertainment industries which in America are constantly increasing in size, scope, and personnel employed; hence, too, it would seem, the great and increasing use of depressants, particularly alcohol, as a device for averting the threat of boredom.

Many Americans use their leisure for constructive activities—it is surprising how many Americans build their own houses—though these, too, are constantly being simplified till all that is needed is the careful following-out of detailed instructions; but for most the greatest recompense for being part of a machine in one's working hours is the mastery of a machine in one's leisure. Most American men handle machines with assurance, great competence and great joy; hours spent in pulling to bits and reassembling better a broken-down machine are a constant pleasure; and the nearest approach to ecstasy in many young men's lives came during the war when they were put in charge of giant bulldozers or the more powerful airplanes.

I think it can be said that, without adopting the values of any particular society, there is real psychological impoverishment inherent in this increasing lack of interest and involvement in the work which still occupies a considerable proportion of most men's waking hours. It is, however, fatally easy to exaggerate this, to be romantic about the pleasure and pride the craftsman got from the exercise of his skill and forget the squalor and poverty to which he so often returned when his work was done. But be it admitted that there is real psychological impoverishment, possibly of a serious nature, involved in thus treating man as an adjunct of the machine; it is the price that Americans have had to pay, and have paid willingly, for their extraordinary technological development which has produced so much material wealth, measured by any possible standard, that, though the Americans only represent about 6-1/2 per cent of the world's population, they own 20 percent of the world's wealth.

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I stated in the last chapter that one of the two basic components in the development of America's technological genius is the viewing of man as a working machine: the other component is the revolutionary and masterful attitude which the American has toward materials, toward things. In his attitude toward the material world the American is and has long been a revolutionary: old traditions and ancient rules have been tested and, if found wanting, discarded without remorse. To any protest of the break with tradition, of the impracticality of a new proposal, the response has always been: "Why not?" The alleged boast of the Seabees, "The difficult we do at once, the impossible takes a little longer," might be the motto of nearly every American man faced with things.

Few contrasts are more marked than the attitudes of the American man toward things and toward people. In their dealing with other people, most American men (though not most American women) would appear to be troubled by a feeling of basic insecurity, which is inadequately disguised by the over-compensations of brashness and boasting; their insatiable need for reassurance has already been described. In contrast, their attitude toward things is untroubled by ambiguity, serene and confident, audacious and creative to an extent that no other society in the world has seen or imagined. In personal relations, the American woman is generally dominant, whether she be physically present or not; the world of things is the kingdom of the American man.

The American completely dominates his material. The search for its natural qualities and stresses, the cunning study of its nature and tendencies, which have been the distinguishing mark of the craftsman in most societies, have little place in the American approach to things. His vision, his plan, comes first; if nature does not provide the requisite materials, then he will do his utmost to improve and invent materials which will realize his vision.

It is probable that this attitude developed under frontier conditions. On the frontier—and indeed in the America of Thomas Jefferson's dreams—each family had to be nearly independent; mastery in a single skill could never keep an isolated family alive; competence, or at least adequacy, in a great number was essential for survival. A heavy premium was put on improvisation. Further, whether the frontiersman were immigrant or native born, he would almost certainly be confronted with a considerable number of novel raw materials, and the absence of those he was used to; for different portions of the continental United States vary considerably in their flora, their fauna, their minerals and their climate. This variation was much more marked a century ago, before most of the larger animals had been destroyed, before the Indians—themselves most various—had been exterminated or enclosed, before the country was laced with railways and roads which could distribute the resources of all areas. Moreover, these novel raw materials were generally present in great quantities; it is only in the last forty years that the notion of conservation has gained any wide currency. Plentiful though these strange raw materials were, will and energy were needed to acquire them, ingenuity and imagination to adapt them to the current needs. There was no time for careful experiment; survival itself often depended on immediate exploitation.

A sufficient number did survive to transmit their attitude to those who came after, to make it the dominant American attitude toward raw materials, toward things. It is an attitude which is not, as far as I know, shared by any other society. It can perhaps best be expressed negatively. It is completely opposite to the traditional attitude of peasants, for whom the land and its products are, as it were, part of themselves, of their ancestors and descendants, so that their histories and fortunes are conceived of as intertwined, so that there is at least a measure of identification between man and material. With the partial exception of the South, this complex of attitudes is completely alien to most Americans; there is no identification between man and his raw material; man is superior and apart, imposing his will on the inhuman universe.

These attitudes are seen most clearly in the case of land itself. Land is not something to be loved and succored, but something to be exploited. Significantly often, the terms of mining are applied to agriculture. Crops are extracted, land is mined—the vegetable world is constantly being spoken, and treated, as though it were a mineral world. Crops are extracted from a piece of land until it is exhausted, after which the land is abandoned, in exactly the same way as metal is extracted from a vein until that is exhausted and the mine abandoned.

Of course this treatment of the land has had disastrous results in erosion and the creation of dust bowls—man-made deserts—and conservation has become imperative. But this has not deeply changed the attitude toward land. Instead of mines, farms and forest lands have come to be compared to factories, where the maintenance of the plant is necessary for the production of goods. Land is still a raw material, no more to be loved or identified with than a lump of iron or an oil well under the soil. Although in the technical sense nearly half the population of the United States is rural (living in towns of less than twenty-five hundred inhabitants) and nearly a quarter is engaged in the extractive industries of agriculture, fishing, and forestry, there is no American analogue to the European or Asiatic peasant. People may get their living from the land, but the culture, the values, and the diversions are today predominantly urban.

A partial exception should be made for people who get their living from animals—the herders, the cowboys, the trappers. It is impossible to regard animals as things, to treat them as minerals; and people who work with animals regard themselves, and are regarded by most of their fellow Americans, as exceptional and somehow romantic. They are a very small group.

For the vast majority of Americans the world of things is a world of inanimate objects, of minerals, or of things which can be likened to minerals—land, wood, water. And in this world they are supreme, endlessly ingenious in transforming things to man's use and enjoyment and profit. This ingenuity in the exploitation of things has, fairly recently, been given a special term—"know-how"; it is rightly considered peculiarly American.

It should be noted that know-how is not identical with inventiveness. The number of basic inventions made by native-born Americans is surprisingly small; but once the basic invention is made, from railroads and automobiles to radar and penicillin, Americans are unsurpassed in their improvement, industrial adaptation, and above all diffusion. One of the chief illusions which Americans cherish about themselves, and which they have succeeded in imposing on much of the rest of the world, is that Americans are the originators of most of the basic modern inventions. There would appear to be a general feeling that, since America is, without question, the country with the greatest technical development, the basic inventions which made this technical development possible must have originated in America. This concept is developed by fairly consistent suppresio veri and suggestio falsi; the foreign origin of major inventions is passed over in silence, and American adaptations or even the first American model are celebrated with the greatest pomp and circumstance. Although outside the realm of invention, the myth that Lindbergh was the first man to fly the Atlantic is a typical example of such distortion of fact.

American technological genius shows itself much less in invention than in improvement and diffusion. The folk recipe for making a fortune is revealing: "Make a better mousetrap, and the world will beat a path to your door." It is improvement, not novelty, which is recommended to the ambitious young man.

To improve the design and increase the supply of things adapted to man's use and enjoyment is the most important object of life. This object is pursued with a fervor and a sense of dedication which in other societies and at other times have been devoted to the search for holiness and wisdom, or to warfare. Any device or regulation which interferes, or can be conceived as interfering, with this supply of more and better things is resisted with unreasoning horror, as the religious resist blasphemy, or the warlike pacifism. It is this feeling which keeps popular support behind the anti-trust laws, which makes the alleged slaughter of little pigs in the early days of the New Deal so much more potent a subject of recrimination than any of the other novel activities then undertaken, which evokes a general and genuine admiration and feeling of personal participation in figures of production, in records broken, in the creation of the bigger and the better. It is against such a background that the interpretations given by most Americans to the abstractions Freedom and Opportunity can be understood. Besides the right to do what one likes, when one likes, without the interference of authority, Freedom means, over and above everything else, Freedom to make more and better things, without external interference from government or sentimental do-gooders. Opportunity is opportunity for as large a proportion of the population as possible to engage in such activities. The political connotations of these abstractions are subservient to the creative ones, and are chiefly envisaged as the establishment of the political conditions which will give the creative capacities the greatest facilities.

These attitudes and beliefs are held unquestioningly by all except an insignificant group of intellectuals. An illuminating anecdote is told about the late President Roosevelt, on the occasion of a discussion of the ways of getting American literature and propaganda into the hands of the Russian people, in order to convert them from a totalitarian to a democratic way of life. After a prolonged discussion of some of the classical texts of American democracy, President Roosevelt is alleged to have said: "If I wanted to point out to the Russians the superiority of the American way of life, I should try to get just one book into their hands—the Sears-Roebuck catalogue."

Through the techniques of mass production, American men have produced more and better goods than the world has ever seen; but it is not as mass producers that Americans tend to think of themselves ideally. The ideal situation is envisaged as a man alone with his raw materials, using his industry, ingenuity, and know-how to make two blades of wheat grow where one grew before, to produce better mousetraps in ever-increasing quantity until they are available to everyone who has a mouse. This is the vision. This is the picture which accounts for the quasi-religious overtone given to the phrase "private enterprise." It is this which gave meaning and warmth to the slogans of the expansive twenties: "The business of America is business"; "What is good for business is good for America."

This ideal situation is now very rare, and it had ceased to be typical fifty years ago. But the fact that the reality is rare does not make the ideal less potent; most Americans believe that, whatever their own walk of life, America should be the land of the small and productive businessman (or would be if "government" or "big business" did not interfere), just as many Englishmen believe against all evidence that England is predominantly rural and that most people live in the country.

This picture of the present in terms of a past which has long since vanished, and the common aspiration to make the picture come true in the future, are essential clues to the understanding of much American political behavior, both foreign and domestic. Americans are in no doubt that this life of production, of making more and better things available to more and more people, is the good life; and with simple missionary zeal they wish to make it possible for the less fortunate, the benighted, to share it. Activities which foreigners interpret as subtle penetrations of American exploitative capital, and which may indeed have that effect, are usually purely benevolent in intention, attempts to free people from the laws and traditions which have prevented them from producing as they could and should, making it easy for American know-how to be communicated. Americans see themselves as a nation of businessmen, but not as a nation of big businessmen; business is creative and productive, big business restrictive and exploitative.

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It should further be noted that in the ideal picture the businessman, the producer, is alone with his raw materials, and that the only rules for dealing with the materials are pragmatic—the only test of fitness of treatment is in the result. Other people appear in this picture in the vaguest way, as the world beating a path to one's doorstep to reward one's ingenuity and industry. In the imagined golden age of equal independent producers no other relationship than that of willing buyer and willing seller was necessary or envisaged; but such a simplification, if it ever existed, has not existed for a long time; and so there is posed the great problem: What is the role of other men in the world of things?

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The typical patterns of the relationship between American employers and employees can be viewed as stemming from a shared abhorrence of the idea of one man being in overt authority over an equal. To avoid the appearance of authority in situations in which it was inherent, two solutions were found: stressing the fundamental equality of human beings outside the working situation, or, alternatively, denying to the inferior full status as a human being, treating him like a thing, in which case the only rule was efficient exploitation. Both these attitudes appear, often in sudden alternation, when Americans abroad are dealing with foreign peoples.

Fellow producers, competitors and rivals, could seldom be treated as things. They had to be treated as human beings and therefore as equals, in theory and in rights, however unequal they might be in resources and powers.

Between equals the normal relationship should be one of competition

—friendly competition, ideally, but anyhow competition. And this competition is envisaged as one in which another man's gain is, inevitably, your loss; it is not envisaged, as it might have been, and as competition has been envisaged in other societies, as a situation in which everybody can win (the competition of the Caucus race) or even one in which the number of places at the top is indefinite, so that another person's success may be a spur rather than a challenge. If another person does better than you, you are humiliated, in so far as you accept the competition. The universal competition is tempered to the extent that, within limits, the individual may choose whom he will regard as his competitors and rivals. Provided he is realistic in his estimation of his own power and resources, the competition may well, as its advocates claim, be a source of stimulation to greater diligence and ingenuity; but if he is rash enough to challenge his superiors (or unfortunate enough to be involved in the plans of his superiors) he then deserves no mercy, and will get none. "Never give a sucker an even break" is the folk-saying which identifies and justifies such conduct. The sucker is the overcredulous person, the person who does not realize the difference between himself and those he challenges. His involvement in the situation is seen as voluntary, indeed as deliberately sought; and consequently he has nobody but himself to blame if he is ruined and destroyed. According to American ethics, it is morally wrong to attack a person weaker than oneself; but if the weaker attacks (or is provoked into attacking) it is not wrong to use all one's strength against him. The ideal of justice is reconciled with the recognition of inequality by the fiction that the weaker always has the choice of whether he will challenge the stronger or no.

It is probably this situation which helps account for one of the more striking paradoxes in the American world of business and of things. Although success is so vitally important for the individual that he will often literally work himself to death or to a nervous breakdown to attain, maintain and increase it, failure, especially sudden and dramatic failure —ruin—is not correspondingly disastrous. A complete setback need not, and generally does not, destroy all self confidence. In the great depression of 1929-32 there were a number of spectacular suicides; less dramatic, but many times more numerous, were the equally ruined men who set about rebuilding their fortunes from nothing, using their dead

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selves as steppingstones to a new career. A slow decline is generally psychologically far more crippling than a complete disaster, for a slow decline suggests increasing incompetence, whereas disaster is a "bad break" in which the ego is not involved; it is viewed almost as though it were an "act of God" as described in insurance policies. A man is completely responsible for his own success; his failure is due to the act of others.

The competition between near equals (or those supposed to be so) is regulated by the government, through the laws; indeed the chief, and for many the only essential, function of government is this regulation of competition. By and large, these regulations are not conceived of as moral imperatives, are not incorporated into the character; they are viewed rather as limitations and obstacles which should be treated with respect, but which a clever person may use to his advantage and, on occasion, get around. In so far as comparison with a sport is permissible, the more suitable would be all-in wrestling rather than boxing. An even more suitable comparison is poker, where each player is on his own, using all his wits to get the better of everybody else, and where success goes to him who combines most successfully skill, bluffing, luck, and resources. It is not surprising that poker is easily the favorite game of American businessmen (American workers seem to prefer games in which the element of luck is greater and that of skill less, such as throwing dice—craps) and that many metaphors of typical behavior are drawn from that game. Emotionally, too, American businessmen approach business with much of the zest with which they approach games; there is a sporting element in many business enterprises.

The metaphor of bluffing, a type of deceit which the other players should expect and be prepared to meet, give an important clue to the typical ethics of business. The fiats and prohibitions of the feminine conscience, dominant in all other spheres, are almost inoperative in business. Anyone who can "get away with" an infraction of the rules, especially the rules of government, without being caught or penalized, is an object of admiration rather than of reprobation. Even the victims of such an infraction are not likely to resent such "slickness" deeply or long. The pragmatic test of success is always the final justification.

Because success is so overwhelmingly important, there is always a tendency for the rule-abiding majority to be pushed toward more and more questionable practices by the ingenious or unscrupulous minority. There is little sympathy, and less support, for a failure whose failure is due to a self-righteous refusal to follow a prevailing trend. The ethical may use every endeavor to get the rules strengthened and made more watertight; but people have little use for a man who squeals because another has been smarter than he. Business competition is regulated by temporary rules, rather than by permanent ethical principles.

Although the all-against-all of the poker game is the general condition of business competition, it may be modified by partnerships or associations. Two sorts of association are envisaged. One is the strictly ad hoc association of two or more competitors temporarily joining their resources to put a rival out of business, leaving their own competition in abeyance until the intruder has been removed from the field. Once this has occurred, the muted competition is resumed. The other type of partnership is that in which people join their different and complementary talents for their mutual advantage, as when one partner provides the patent and the other the capital. Partnerships are never thought of as similar to the temporary partnerships of such games as tennis or bridge. Partnerships should always be working partnerships.

The picture of competition between near-equal individuals as the general rule of American production and business is more a reference to a mythical past than a picture of the contemporary scene, where nearly every major industry is controlled by a few big corporations. But here again an image of an ideal world may be more potent in influencing contemporary conduct than the objectively viewed reality. This picture of free competition between near equals engendering ever more, cheaper, and better goods may be brandished by the public-relations officials of the big quasi-monopolies completely cynically, to prevent any further interference with their search for profits; but it is believed in good faith by the greater number of their audience, including most of the legislators. America has achieved unparalleled strength, wealth, and productivity in a very short time; this achievement of strength, wealth, and productivity was accompanied by almost unregulated competition: therefore, it is argued and believed, this almost unregulated competition is a prerequisite for further increase in strength, wealth, and productivity.

In the world of things, the world of American male supremacy, the only important human relationships are those between employer and employee, and those between competitors and rivals. There is a third relationship, that between the producer and the consuming public; this relationship is much less structured than the other two; but in so far as it is conceptualized, the public falls more into the category of things, of raw material, than into that of human beings. Continuing the mineral analogy, the purchasing power has to be extracted from the consuming public, as though it were silver being extracted from the baser ore. To achieve this efficiently the public is assayed and analyzed, using the increasingly refined techniques of market research. Once the possible yield has been determined, any device for flattering, cajoling, or bamboozling the public into yielding up its purchasing power is legitimate. The devices of advertising—perhaps most markedly in the case of radio—demonstrate a consistent and profound contempt for the public on the part of the advertisers and their employers. In the distorting mirror of advertising copy and radio commercials the public is shown to itself as naïve and puerile, driven by lust and greed and fear, without judgment or intellectual curiosity. For the producer the consumer is never an equal or near equal; fooling the public, "putting one over" in the consumer, is an act of which nobody need be ashamed; indeed it is a proper subject for boasting. Barnum made a boast of fooling the public: "A sucker is born every minute"; and Barnum is well on the way to becoming a folk hero.

THE LABORATORY COLLEGE
FOR ADULTS

A New Program of Liberal Education for Adults[1]

Northwestern University, in co-operation with the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, is experimenting with a unique program of education for mature people and is inviting a small group to form the student body of the first pilot project, which is under the general direction of Professor Martin J. Maloney.

For those—

Who want to capitalize on the cultural and intellectual resources of the city they live in

Who desire intellectual stimulation and growth

Who want to explore the meaning of experiences and ideas with mature people with common interests

Who feel that the world is full of interesting, exciting things, ideas, and processes, but need help in opening doors to them, and

Who do not particularly want credits or a degree . . . or

Who want intellectual stimulation and growth in a systematic way, but find that education developed for young undergraduates does not meet their needs.

The idea behind it

1. Most Americans live in cities and complain a good deal about the problems of urban life. But, with all its inconveniences, annoyances, and frustrations, the city is a tremendous resource for the enrichment of life. Only in places where the concentration of population makes it

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[1] The evening divisions of Northwestern University and The Center for the study of Liberal Education for Adults.

possible has society been able to create and store the cream of culture: the main currents of art, drama, music, architecture, thought, the main focus of society's accomplishments, conflicts, and contradictions, the vanguard of movements into its future.

But cities also involve people in routines and harassments which prevent them from using resources available to them, from exploring the city's resources and learning from it.

The Laboratory College takes its name from our intention to use the city itself as a laboratory.

Its museums and galleries, its symphonies and theaters, its newspapers, its social dilemmas, its political structure and problems, its families, its people, its physical setting. The participants will go out into the city to get common experiences they have already had as family members, citizens, and workers.

2. People cannot be forever going to school, yet much of our schooling discourages the development of their ability to learn by themselves. Some have learned how to "study," to learn facts or how to do things from books, but busy adults seldom have time or motivation to do this kind of learning. But everyone, in these busy lives, has daily experiences from which he could learn, if he knew how to reflect about his experiences, and if he were in the habit of doing so.

The second intention of the Laboratory College, then, is to discuss the experiences of the group, not only for the meaning which can be found in them specifically but to help the participants generalize about the way in which one learns from this kind of experience.

Thus, if the group goes to the theater, it will later not only talk about the play as an example of drama but go on to discuss the ways in which going to the theater at any time can be made a more illuminating and deeper experience.

What the participants will do

The Laboratory College adapts itself to the rhythms of adult life.

Mature people with work and family commitments often have difficulty maintaining a schedule of weekly meetings. Laboratory College groups will meet when the occasion warrants it—for dinner on the evening of a play or concert, to attend a meeting of some community or political group to be observed, for a Saturday afternoon to visit a museum, and so forth.

The program will begin with a residential week end at a place outside, but near, the city. This will give the group time to get to know each other, discuss the plans that have been made, and become accustomed to the procedures of the College.

In general, during the five months of the pilot program, there will be ten to twelve meetings, some on the week end, some in the evening. The first week-end meeting will be September 20-21, and at that time the schedule for the following months will be available.

RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

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notes and essays on education for adults

number 22

Learning and Teaching through Discussion

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and
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an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults.

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Publications of the Center are listed on the back covers, with information as to how they may be obtained.

The authors, Mr. and Mrs. William F. Hill, are well known in the fields of group dynamics and adult education. Mrs. Hill, who received her Doctor of Education degree from the University of California, Los Angeles, was a member of the staff of CSLEA in 1951–52. Before that time she was assistant professor of Educational Psychology and assistant Dean of Students at the University of Utah. Mr. Hill received the Ph.D. from the University of Chicago and has for several years been active as a therapist and research worker in group psychotherapy.

Mr. and Mrs. Hill have worked as a team in group development laboratories and workshops throughout the nation and at present are collaborating on a five-year research project in group psychotherapy at Utah State Hospital in Provo, Utah, under a grant from the National Institute for Mental Health. As Chief Psychologist for the Hospital, Mr. Hill has taken an active role in shaping the training programs for student nurses, psychiatric aides, graduate nurses, and volunteer workers. Mrs. Hill has done supervisory training and has been active in the development of a highly successful patient government program. Both had extensive teaching experience before entering the mental health field.

RESOURCES FOR EDUCATO~S OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

LEARNING AND TEACHING THROUGH DISCUSSION

by
Ida Stewart Hill
and
William Fawcett Hill

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
September 1958

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PUBLISHED SEPTEMBER 1958

PRINTED IN U.S.A.

INTRODUCTION

One of the troubles with all talk about "discussion" is that there is a wide variety of discussion techniques appropriate to different situations, and many books and articles exhorting teachers and non-professional leaders to use discussion, and extolling its virtues, try to suit everyone and often end by pleasing no one. University teachers particularly, as a group, get mildly indignant at treatises telling them how to lead discussion classes, because most such documents seem to find no place for their usually considerable knowledge and expertness in a field, nor do they pay much attention to the role books play in the learning process above very simple levels. "A pooling of ignorance," snort the faculty.

The Hills, I think, with this essay have made a significant contribution to the field of university adult education. Their suggestions take the pressure off the instructor and put it on the students. A common teacher comment is, "Well, I tried discussion and they really *wanted* me to lecture." To the extent that this attitude reflects an absence of common agreements about how to make discussion rewarding, the method suggested in this paper should help to a considerable degree to deal with it. The Hills concentrate their attention on classroom discussion, in which the instructor has the status of expert, and in which reading is an important element. Their suggestions come closer, therefore, to the real situation confronted by the university instructor than do most tracts on discussion.

A reasonable question is whether the method is equally relevant to all courses. Clearly, it is not. But I suggest that it is not necessarily subject matter which is the source of variation here, but the purposes of the instructor. The usual course in algebra, for example, which aims to give students certain fundamental operational skills would have little use for the discussion method; but a course which proposes to help students gain an understanding of such a basic concept as "number," as some general education courses do, might well find discussion not only appropriate but essential. Instructors of science interested in having students acquire a basic understanding of the processes of scientific inquiry might similarly use discussion.

Any field, then, in which the teacher thinks important the understanding and application, rather than the transmission, of a body of concepts and item knowledge will find this paper relevant, and, we hope, useful. The staff of the Center and the Hills will be very interested in getting the results of any attempts to apply the method.

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LEARNING AND TEACHING THROUGH DISCUSSION

by

Ida Stewart Hill and William Fawcett Hill

Like many teachers who work part or all of the time with adult students, we use the discussion method as often as it seems feasible to do so. This method, we feel, more than any other we have found encourages students to think for themselves, to develop critical habits of study, to interpret the problems of the past in a way to throw light on the problems of the present, and to gain insight into ways for shaping the future. However, discussion hasn't always worked for us. Indeed, there have been times when we were so disappointed with the kind and degree of learning our students attained that we were almost ready to abandon discussion procedures. We didn't abandon them because we are dedicated to the belief that learning requires the development of the students' understanding and the freeing of their creative capacities at least as much as it demands their master of facts. What we did do was to re-examine the ways in which we felt the discussion method develops insight and understanding. We looked at the reports of a number of social scientists who had made studies relevant to our problem. Finally we experimented with our own procedures.

Some hazards of discussion

Whenever an instructor is attempting to train his students to understand, he is concerned with ways in which the mind works as well as with the abstractions and symbols of a particular discipline or subject matter. He is often concerned, too, with quite concrete materials. These concerns are his whether he is teaching a psychology course, where the participants are trying to win through to a greater understanding of themselves, a course in basic communications, where the learners are trying to find out more about how the words they use and hear modify their thoughts and their actions, or a course in industrial finishes, where students have enrolled to discover some of the ways in which temperature or stress affect the durability of surface materials. We felt that these same concerns applied to the courses we were teaching, primarily courses in psychology, social psychology, and the development of group skills. The discussion method, with its opportunities for many to contribute information or insight and its freedom from domination by a teacher ought, we felt, help students to discover ways in which they could work at the materials offered in our courses. Hopefully they might discover a number of ways of working with the materials to produce certain results or attain certain aims. They might even find ways to develop their own materials for gaining insight or solving problems. Like other instructors who have used discussion techniques, however, we found that classroom discussion resulted sometimes not in creative learning but in frustration—because the discussion appeared random and meaningless; in disillusionment—because the students, although seeming to enjoy the informality, did not learn the subject matter; and in new tyrannies for old ones, because the class became dominated by one or two aggressive students rather than by a teacher. There was some justification, we felt, in teachers being tempted to fall back on methods which, although they were not perfect, at least brought a class under the direction of its best-informed member. We felt, too, that where the only choice class members had lay between domination by their peers or by the instructor, most students would make the latter choice.

When we got around to reading the reports of the social scientists, we found that a number of these covered studies in which the discussion method was compared with other methods in terms of academic achievement, interest generated in the class, increased skill developed by the students, and so forth. Without attempting to analyze the findings of these studies, we can say that we felt they did not demonstrate in any conclusive way the superiority of the discussion method. However, [they did supply the clue which led us to re-examine our assumptions about discussion as a classroom technique. The clue lay in the words used to describe the discussion method employed in the experimental settings —words like unstructured, permissive, uncontrolled, and student centered. These words suggested to us that instructors set up as alternatives to the lecture, with its "authoritarianism," a capitulation and a flight into laissez-faire situations where they surrendered their leadership, authority, skill, and subject matter competence. In the degree to which this situation were true, we would expect an equal degree of frustration and failure. We would expect failure because a class conducted by the discussion method is a group, and every group needs leadership and structure.

It is embarrassing to us as workers in group development to admit that we had overlooked anything so obvious as the fact that a discussion class is a group and therefore subject to the principles that affect group productivity. Once we had recognized our oversight, however, we began to look at classroom discussion as we had conceived of it and as it had been described in social science reports with the intent to discover the extent to which principles of group productivity had been apparent or in abeyance. It is probably worth stating explicitly that one of the aims of discussion techniques is to keep the participants aware of their own mental processes and of the mental processes of the others in the group. Discussion techniques are also aimed at discovering differences in values and in working toward agreed-upon goals.

Now where students are in an unstructured or student-centered class, they are expected to discuss the subject matter of the course without interference from the instructor. They are given freedom to operate in whatever way they choose and need fear no domination by the teacher nor restructions imposed by him. The class hour is in their hands and can be used to talk about topics of their own choosing. There is nothing magic about talking, however. People talk for a variety of reasons—to demonstrate knowledge, to gain dominance, to support or hurt others, or simply to make a noise. Freedom to talk does not guarantee that the talk will be meaningful, revealing of mental processes, or directed toward particular purposes. We felt that some of the problems arising in discussion groups had come about because the students had no common understanding of what they were to talk about or what could be gained from talking.

Although adult students have some expectation of active participation in a class, they, like undergraduates, often look to the teacher for cues as to what is important. Both adult and undergraduate students have probably participated to a greater extent in courses where the emphasis was on acquiring information than in those where it was on developing understanding. What a teacher minimally expected of students was that they should be informed about and be able to write an examination on those aspects of the subject matter that seemed important to him. We felt that some of the difficulties in discussion arose from teachers and students having different purposes. The teachers hoped the students would discover for themselves what was worth learning, while the students looked to the instructor to tell them what was important so that they could get good grades or feel the security of working on the "right" material and acquiring the "right" answers. We felt that it was probable students would feel unsure of themselves and resentful in a class where they were expected to decide what they should learn without having had much experience in how to make such a decision.

A teacher freeing students to discuss without training them in how to discuss is assuming that they have the requisite skills to begin with. This may be an unrealistic assumption, however, because many students have had experience only in clubs, organizations or committees devoted to recreation, problem-solving, or action, and not in the business of learning new material. The skills students learn in such groups are not sufficient for classroom discussion devoted to learning. Although they may have witnessed round-table or panel discussions where experts comment on the social scene or on a work of art, most students recognize their own inability to discourse brilliantly about anything. No wonder students feel inadequate in a situation where the skills they do have are not sufficient, and the skills they believe to be appropriate are beyond them. We believe that students need training to discuss effectively for learning purposes; and that when they do not get training, the discussion may be dominated by a few members of the class and, in addition, may be only vaguely related to the academic goals. Lack of training, we felt, might account for some of the problems experienced by members in unstructured discussion classes.

Even a group that has developed goals and procedures that all members agree upon and that is working toward increased skill will have problems growing out of the emotional needs of group members. All people want to be valued and respected. They do not want to expose their shortcomings to ridicule. Sometimes to protect themselves they will belittle others; sometimes they will withdraw; and sometimes they will equivocate and pretend. Under such circumstances they may learn very little. Most teachers who use discussion know that the classroom should not be emotionally threatening to students. But a classroom is not rendered unthreatening just because the teacher wills it so. The students, too, must be aware of the part they play in maintaining conditions conducive to learning, and they must plan together to avoid behavior that is emotionally damaging and that interferes with their task of learning subject matter. In unstructured discussion we felt that this important consideration was left to chance, and that serious problems could develop where emotional considerations were overlooked.

Traditionally, evaluation in the classroom has been primarily the teacher's prerogative. He has set standards against which the student's work is compared and weighed each student's achievements against the achievements of all other students in the class. In much adult education, of course, evaluation has come to be the prerogative of the students themselves. It has become a way for them to assess the quality and degree of their own learning. A continuing process, it helps class or group members to measure their progress, re-affirm their goals, take stock of or change their procedures, emphasize the importance of learning or discussion skills, and remind themselves that not only problems of subject matter but problems of method must be solved. If a group has a common goal and has planned effective ways of achieving it, evaluation takes little time and is very helpful. The unstructured group, however, whose members have not shared in setting their goals or planning how to reach them has nothing to evaluate as a group. Members can and do evaluate the class process outside the classroom in terms of their individual expectations and reactions, but unshared evaluation does little to improve their understanding of how the class can work together to develop those ways of thinking and those skills for using the resources of all which will best assure subject matter competence, intellectual understanding, and emotional awareness. Whenever a class used discussion methods without a conscious intent to plan, participate, and evaluate as members of a group, we felt that it sacrificed many of the values of discussion; for in discussion classes, the process is the vehicle through which learning is accomplished and tested.

Principles and skills for discussion learning

As we have by now suggested, we feel that much of the dissatisfaction both students and instructors have with discussion methods in the classroom is that the classes fail to give enough heed to some of the principles that help insure group productivity. We should like to discuss six principles that we feel are important in class discussion if learning is to take place. Many of the detailed suggestions for incorporating these principles in classroom procedures will be familiar in some degree to any teacher. What we feel is important is that both subject matter and method need to be brought explicitly to students' attention as matters for study, practice, and experimentation. We hope that teachers who are wrestling with this double task will get from our discussion some usable suggestions for incorporating these principles in their own classes.

All group members should have a common understanding of the goals toward which they are working.

Probably the prime principle of productive group action is that a group should have a common understanding of the goals toward which the members are working. A very general goal for every teacher is that his students should learn something new. Usually academic classes on the high-school level and above depend upon the printed page or the instructor's knowledge as the source of the "something new" students are to learn. But there is more to the process of learning than listening or reading. What do educators mean when they tell students to learn something? Maybe most teachers have not verbalized their expectations, but we suspect they would agree with us in general. In trying to articulate what the process "learning" means to us we would verbalize it to a class of students as follows:

"You should study the material and learn it. Read critically what the author has written and study the important aspects of it until it becomes meaningful to you—until you know what the author is trying to say. Then you should try to understand the implications of the theories or the facts in terms of what you have learned in this and other classes and in terms of your own experience. When you are sure you understand the material, you should evaluate and criticize it. At the end of the course, you should have a new body of knowledge. Also, you should have gained skill in reading and thinking critically, in integrating new knowledge into old, in testing new ideas against your own experience, and in using this new knowledge and these new intellectual skills in the solution of problems which confront you." These words may not describe precisely what every instructor means by "learning," but perhaps they are general enough to be used here.

The homework or preparation students do is reserved for reading the material, but how and when do they learn it? A teacher can assume that students are learning in their solitary preparation, or he can help them to develop learning skills in the classroom. Before students are ready to use the classroom hour for learning, however, the instructor must articulate his goals to the students and convince them, first that they cannot depend on him to inform them as to what they should learn, and next that the traditional reading-listening-memorizing-repeating pattern will not suffice for the quality of learning he hopes they will develop. Most students will have heard of such high-sounding goals before and will have learned also that the instructor continues to operate as if the reading-listening-memorizing-repeating pattern is sufficient. We emphasize that the instructor must convince the students of the goals he holds, and this he can do only when he can demonstrate that the activities required of students, the classroom procedures, and the grading criteria are consistent with them.

We have said that a group should share common goals which means, perhaps, that the students must understand and accept the goals toward which the instructor is working. If these goals require the students to participate actively in the learning process during the classroom hour, the stage is set for meeting the next requirement for a productive group.

The group, itself, should establish procedures best suited to the achievement of its goals.

When the members of a group have agreed to work toward their common goal of learning a new subject matter in the classroom, they must agree upon the best way to proceed so that their energies will not be wasted. How does a class go about discussing something the members have read individually so that they will all learn it better? How do they know where to begin, what to say, and where they should end up? The answer to these questions is that the discussion process must be tied in systematically with the learning goals.

In arriving at a procedure, group members must first decide why they are talking and what they should talk about. Many students report being uncomfortable during discussions because they don't know what is expected of them. To voice their complaint another way, students don't know why they are discussing. They may have some notion that to enter a discussion they should make a brilliant or penetrating comment, but since usually they do not feel capable of doing so, they "have nothing to contribute." It should be possible for students to understand why they are talking, and we submit that discussion used for learning purposes should be of a kind that facilitates the whole of the learning process. The process *talking* should accomplish the goal *learning*. A moment of self analysis will demonstrate how one goes about self-conscious learning and why the discussion method can facilitate it. In learning a person becomes aware of a new idea, theory, or concept usually through reading. It interests him. He tests whether he understands by thinking it through. He then analyzes it by comparing it to some other theory or idea. Next he may test his understanding of how this new idea was conceived, then, perhaps, criticize or evaluate it. If he misses somewhere along the line he goes back, re-reads, and repeats the process. In all but the most brilliant person, and perhaps even with him, this process is one of silent verbalization. Discussion transforms this private thinking process into a public talking one.

The most important aspect of getting a discussion class under way is to create understanding and acceptance of the importance of talking. Students should talk because by saying something out loud they are reinforcing and testing their learning. It is easy for a person to practice self-deception and pass over matters with an inward nod of the head saying, "I know that," only to realize when called upon to explain it that he knew it hardly at all. There are, of course, devices which the sophisticated student can use to check such slipshod tendencies, but a teacher cannot assume that most of his students have learned how to study. Discussion can become, then, a process of making public—of practicing—the act of learning. The student in a discussion group can test his understanding by trying it out in the company of others. If class members see discussion serving the development of learning, they know, not only why they talk but how they talk. They do not start at the end of the process by criticizing or evaluating what they have read, they start at the beginning by making sure that all understand it.

If an instructor will spend a few minutes talking with his class about why and how they can go about discussing the material they read, the class can develop a procedure, a plan, a cognitive map to guide them through their sessions. The plan should be a step-by-step plan that makes sense to them and that takes them through their reading in a logical way. The plan—it may be an outline—becomes the group's substitute for the structure usually imposed by the instructor or discussion leader and gives class members something against which to evaluate their work and with which to help them organize their discussion.

Each instructor with each class must develop a class plan or outline in keeping with the demands of the subject matter. We suspect that the outline will not differ radically from class to class but that the sequence in which material is presented or the emphasis given some particular point may change. The outline reproduced below is illustrative of the kind of plan developed by the classes with which we have worked.

Outline for Discussion

Step 1 - Individual preparation before discussion.

Step 2 - Clarification of terms, concepts, theories that are new to the class and basic to an understanding of the material.

Step 3 - Statement of the topic or message in general terms.

Step 4 - Analysis of the elements essential to an understanding of the material.

Step 5 - Integration of the material into present knowledge.

Step 6 - Evaluation of the material.

Step 7 - Application of the material.

Use of an outline is certainly familiar to teachers, because in preparing lectures or conducting quiz sessions they repeatedly organize material in some such logical way. Introducing an outline in a discussion class is simply a method for suggesting that students talk first about things they need to deal with first and leave other things until such time as they have a grasp of the material necessary for intelligent discourse. The process of developing a procedure or plan to guide their discussion helps students to know what is expected of them and what is appropriate.

A group should train members to become maximally effective in the performance of skills relevant to their goals.

There is nothing new or original about the outline suggested above. Most students will be familiar with the terms and the rationale behind the sequence and will accept it as making sense. It is one thing, however, for students to understand what is expected of them, and quite another for them to be able to do it. It is helpful for instructor and students to spell out in detail the kinds of behavior that are appropriate at various stages in the discussion—the skills necessary for a group to operate and accomplish the learning in each successive step. Such spelling-out, like the development of an outline, can be accomplished in a few minutes. It is a simple but important step, however, because many students have little experience in anything except answering questions and actually do not know how to go about initiating a discussion. Every teacher is a past master at the skills involved because he uses them constantly in recitation periods, in constructing examination questions, and in preparing lectures. Listing skills and techniques appropriate for each step is a way of helping students become teachers for each other and of reminding them not to overlook these techniques which are so useful in the classroom. To develop the list of skills, the students, once they have developed an outline, go back through it and list a variety of things that can be said and asked while the group is at each step. The instructor can be most helpful in clarifying what is meant by skills, if he demonstrates them with examples from the subject matter of the course. The following outline is submitted as illustrative.

Skills Useful for Classroom Discussion

Before the Discussion

Step 1 - Preparation

a. Start your preparation with a copy of the discussion outline before you.

b. As you read, jot down ideas wherever you think they fit best in the discussion.

c. Look up and learn to say the meaning of new words and concepts.

d. When you have finished reading, go back through the outline and write down reminders of what you might say during each step in the discussion.

e. Practice saying or formulate questions about material you plan to introduce into the discussion.

During the Discussion

Step 2 - Clarification of terms

a. List the words or concepts with which you had some difficulty and ask others to add to your list.

b. Try to define or explain one of the words on your list.

c. Ask the group members if you have defined it as they understand it.

d. Encourage others to practice explaining what it means to them.

e. Re-state what someone else has said to make sure you understand it.

f. Give an example to clarify the meaning.

g. Ask someone else in the group to give an example.

h. Ask the group members if everyone understands the new words or concepts.

Step 3 - Statement of the author's message

a. State in your own words what you think the assignment was all about.

b. Frame a question that will encourage someone else to state what the assignment was about.

c. Encourage other group members to practice explaining it.

d. Add to what someone else has said.

e. State the ways in which your understanding or interpretation differs from that stated by another member.

f. Ask for clarification on points you don't understand.

g. Re-state what someone else has said if you need to, to be sure you know it.

h. If you think two other members are misunderstanding each other, try to clarify the confusion.

Step 4 - Analysis

a. Ask the group to state the essential elements of the author's presentation:
    (1) Hypotheses
    (2) Methods
    (3) Devices
    (4) Techniques
    (5) Arguments
    (6) Sources

b. Practice saying for yourself what the author was mainly concerned with and encourage others to do so.

Step 5 - Integration

a. State the meaning or usefulness of the new material in understanding other ideas or concepts.

b. Phrase questions to put to the group members which will stimulate them to see how the new material fits into what they have studied previously.

c. Ask or state how the new material contradicts, substantiates, or amplifies some previously developed point.

d. Summarize points others have made into compact statements.

e. Listen critically for and try to state puzzling aspects of the material that are giving the group trouble.

f. Ask for or give help in stating the material more concisely.

g. Ask another member to re-state what he has said if you think you may have misunderstood.

h. Call the group's attention to and reinforce a comment that seems particularly helpful.

Step 6 - Testing, criticizing, evaluating

a. State questions to help the group evaluate the new material, the method of arriving at the conclusions, etc.

b. State points supporting or questioning the validity of the arguments or the reasoning of the author.

c. State why and how you think the new material is or is not useful.

d. Frame questions which will help the group to test the usefulness of specific points.

e. When appropriate, re-state, ask for clarification, summarize, encourage others, etc.

Step 7 - Application

a. Ask or state why and how the new material can be useful to members.

b. Give examples of how you might apply it or how the knowledge of it may be useful to you.

c. Compare the author's reasons for thinking it worthwhile to your own experience.

d. Test the usefulness of the new material by constructing a situation for which it should be useful.

e. Give examples you know of which the new material helps to explain or helps you to understand.

In developing a list of skills with his student the instructor should stress the importance to the students of trying to use all the skills during the course. They should be encouraged especially to try to do those things during the discussion which seem most difficult.

The rationale for developing an outline and some skills rests on the necessity for helping students to understand why they are discussing and how they can proceed in order to make the discussion serve the end of improving the quality of learning. The goals and subject-matter will dictate specifically what steps and skills the outline will contain and how much emphasis will be placed on the various steps. For some courses in which a new vocabulary must be learned the bulk of a group's time may be spent on the clarification process of Step 2, or the group may wish to progress through the entire outline on each new term to be learned. In another class, one where students presumably already have considerable theoretical knowledge, the group may move quickly through the first six steps and work more intensely on the application phase of Step 7. We submit, however, that regardless of where the emphasis is placed, progressing through the entire outline will make the learning more vital and will help a group avoid the common pitfalls of arguing from ignorance, getting bogged down in semantics, or wool-gathering. For instance, the compulsive arguer will be robbed of his most potent ammunition if he is forced to understand before being allowed to attack. Those who like to define everything within an inch of their lives can be reminded that the group's task is to understand what the author is trying to say, not to establish the accuracy with which he has said it. The woolgatherer with endless anecdotes can be reminded that what he is saying may be more appropriate during the latter stages of the discussion. Members of a classroom group can expect less of such unproductive behavior once they have established procedures simply because members have been supplied with alternative ways of acting which are understandable to them.

A group should anticipate process barriers and plan to avoid or overcome them.

The moment an instructor introduces a classroom method involving interaction among the students he has created a group subject to all of the stresses present in any group that is free from rigid control. Unless these stresses are anticipated, and group members take measures to circumvent them, the class may become so involved in process problems that the subject-matter learning suffers, and eventually the instructor may have to assume rigid control in order to protect members from psychological damage and to fulfill his responsibilities as a teacher. Both instructor and students, although the latter may not realize the fact, have somehow or other had enough group experience to have become aware of the kinds of problems that may arise. If group members will anticipate and plan to avoid process problems or devise techniques for handling them before they arise, at least two important purposes will be served: first, the members will have created a better understanding of what behavior is appropriate during the discussions; and second, they will have established the expectation that when problems do arise, these can be handled in a problem-solving way rather than by criticism or censure. Instructor and class can make a start at understanding and anticipating process problems if they list some of the behaviors or ways of thinking and acting that will interfere with classroom learning. They can make a parallel list which attempts to show where the proper action, understood within the context of the learning situation, can help students state some positive criteria for learning by discussion. The listing of problems and criteria which follows is typical of lists developed by the classes with which we have worked:

Problems in Discussion Groups	Criteria for Learning by Discussion
1. We may be afraid to talk for fear of showing our ignorance.	1. We are trying to learn and not to impress each other. We should encourage members to speak up —to try to say what they think needs to be said—and we should not belittle anyone's attempt at participation.
2. Some people just naturally don't like to speak in a group. And hardly anyone likes to be put on the spot.	2. Everyone should participate because participation is the way by which we learn. Naturally quiet members should make an effort to talk without being asked. Others can help keep the class centered on its task rather than conscious of individuals by putting questions to the group at large rather than to any one person.
3. Some people who are better informed than most of the group will dominate the discussion. Other well-informed people may be reluctant to participate for fear of antagonizing the rest of the group	3. Our reason for discussing is to learn. Those who are sure that they already know what is to be known should give others a chance to speak first. On the other hand, any good group uses its resources, and we should make sure that our better-informed members have an opportunity to contribute.
4. Some people don't think as fast as others. Those who talk easily may dislike silence so much that they will try to dominate the group or urge the discussion ahead too fast. The whole group may get bogged down and spend too much time somewhere along the way.	4. Everyone should share responsibility for keeping the discussion moving. We should adjust our pace so that members have a chance to think and don't have to shout, fight for the floor or be left out. Verbal people should frame good short questions to put to the group when they get the urge to talk too much.
5. We could get involved in arguing about where we are in the outline and not learn the subject matter.	5. The outline is a means to the end of learning subject matter and is not an end in itself. We should be flexible.
6. Some people who don't do the reading may try to bluff and get us into unnecessary arguments.	6. No one should feel that he has to talk at each discussion period. Learning takes place by listening as much as by talking.
7. A group like this could become too serious.	7. We should enjoy the discussion. We should be able to laugh at ourselves and to find enjoyment in the learning process.

All group members should plan to share in the significant aspects of the common task.

It should take no more than one or two hours for a group to accomplish the pre-planning involved in establishing procedures, listing skills, and developing criteria. This process, together with a reading assignment is all the students need to begin and provides them with a kind of road map which indicates where they are going and suggests how to get there. The instructor has, in a sense, delegated his responsibilities by suggesting ways in which group members can share them. The business of learning involves reading critically, selecting the aspects of the reading most important to learn, testing understanding, integrating, criticizing, and so forth. After the pre-planning, students realize that they, not the instructor, are responsible for initiating and maintaining learning activities. From here on they learn by doing.

The instructor's role which is now vastly changed should be understood by the students. He has taken active leadership in the planning session, but as soon as the group begins to discuss the subject matter, he abandons the leader role. Rather, he becomes a member of the group, a resouce person and process observer. Since he already has learned the subject matter, and since he believes students learn best by verbalizing their thinking processes, he will not encourage students to ask him questions nor will he answer questions put to him if the book or another member has the answer. He may, however, wish to make sure that the students do not by-pass something of importance and will introduce comments or pose questions as the other members do. He may even introduce brief, on-the-spot lectures if he feels he has information that will clarify the problem under study. Occasionally, dealing with particularly difficult or complex materials the students may exhaust their own resources and still be confused. The instructor will, of course, give what help he can, then suggest that students try to express for themselves the meanings and implications of the material.

The instructor may very well retain primary responsibility for initiating process evaluation since students may have had little experience in looking at group behavior in a problem-solving way. Probably the instructor will have little more to do than to call class members' attention at regular intervals to the procedures and criteria they have developed and invite them to comment on how well they are doing. The groups with which we have worked seem capable of analyzing their problems effectively if the criteria are called to their attention.

Probably the most important role of the instructor is to establish an atmosphere free from restrictive competition, an atmosphere in which students are able to learn from their own mistakes without shame and from the mistakes of others without smugness. In such an atmosphere, the instructor can encourage students to experiment with the learning process and transform it from a chore into a challenge.

The group should plan evaluation procedures which help them to know how effectively they are working toward the achievement of their goals.

Evaluation should be tied in with the goals and procedures a group has set for itself. In addition to devices for measuring the extent of academic learning such as an examination or quiz, the class group can very profitably use the outline, the list of skills and the criteria they have developed to evaluate their ability to use discussion as a learning technique. If the last five minutes of each class period are devoted to evaluation, problems can be faced and solved while they are still small. Most students are quite capable of recognizing their own shortcomings and attempting to improve if they are given a chance to do so in a friendly setting. The evaluation sessions can be directed toward areas in which the group has been successful or to individual improvement as well as to problems or difficulties. In our estimation it is of utmost importance that the instructor create the expectation that it will be difficult to achieve a really excellent discussion, but that it is worth the effort. He must not be judgmental or hypercritical during the group's early attempts, but should enter into a problem-solving attitude and admit his own derelictions, as he hopes students will be able to admit theirs. If the group sees the process of the class as well as its subject matter as a challenge, the learning in both can be genuinely rewarding.

A way of discussion.

In the preceding pages we have described at length how six principles of group productivity can be applied to discussion in the classroom. Other teachers might make a different selection of principles or describe the ones we have noted in a somewhat different way. What we have been concerned about is the development of some general principles for conducting classes in which the classroom hour is devoted to improving the quality of learning students gain from the material they read in preparation. The method we have described is simply one in which the instructor and his class participate in the development of goals, procedures, and criteria for good learning conditions, and in which they practice the skills needed. The instructor then need only provide the study material and get the group to apply the criteria when needed. Briefly described, the initial meetings of a class conducted according to this method look something like this:

The instructor, who has selected or prepared reading material of high quality, meets with his class on the first day of the term. He shares with them his expectation concerning the quality of learning they should achieve—the goals he has set for them. If grades are to be given, he indicates what he will assess and how he will assess it in evaluating the quality of their work. Next the instructor communicates to the class that their classroom time will be used to discuss the reading assignments. Together the members of the class group explore the why and how of discussion, building a step-by-step outline or cognitive map to guide them. They then go back through the outline, listing skills useful for learning the material in each step of the outline and illustrating these from the content of the course. The instructor emphasizes the importance of talking as a technique for learning and encourages the students to try as many of the skills as possible as the course progresses. He points out that by using all of the skills, students share both the teaching and the learning function. Then the group lists possible problems or process barriers that may interfere with learning and prepares a set of criteria toward which to work as a group so that all may learn. The instructor defines his role as group member, subject matter resource person, and process observer. At the end of this planning meeting, the members of the group are given a reading assignment and reminded that they will discuss the material at the next session.

At the second session the instructor may distribute in mimeographed form the outline and list of skills, together with the criteria the group developed, and remind the students that he will call their attention to these documents from time to time to help them evaluate progress toward their goals. The group is now ready to begin discussion.

In their initial attempt, there may be embarrassment and false starts, the group may wander and get off the beam, or a few members may dominate the rest. If any of these happen, the instructor may be tempted to come to the group's rescue, but it is probably wiser to let the group struggle with its own problems until it is time for the evaluation session. The instructor may kick off the evaluation session with the question, "How did we do?" If the students express disappointment, the teacher may then ask whether the problems stemmed from the difficulty of the subject matter, inadequacy of the outline, lack of discussion skill, or problems of working together with others, calling attention to the documents the class has developed. The group will point out some problems then and discuss how the next discussion may be improved. The instructor should assure the class members that their struggles are legitimate and to be expected. In addition he may want to point to strengths they overlooked in their own evaluation.

During the first few sessions, it may be best for the instructor carefully to avoid an active role in subject matter discussions so that members will learn as quickly as possible to depend on their own resources and prepare thoroughly. An obvious exception would be the instructor's intervention if the group seemed unable to resolve a matter of fact for which he had the answer.

With each session the group will improve in its ability to discuss, and evaluation sessions may be needed less often toward the end of the course. As group members become emancipated from dependence on the instructor for either content or process leadership and develop their own skills in managing the discussion and learning effectively from it, the instructor can become in a more complete sense a member of the group, free to learn and to teach along with others and free from fear that he is dominating or robbing students of a chance to think for themselves.

Some specific considerations.

We have described in general terms how classroom discussion based on principles of group productivity may be conducted, but we have not commented directly on some considerations which can greatly affect the applicability of the method and its success. Let us mention some of these briefly.

Limitations of time. The method we have described requires that students go deeply into whatever aspects of the material they discuss. Preparation for such discussion is rigorous and time-consuming and may preclude reading assignments as extensive as would otherwise be expected. Regardless of the quantity students are expected to read, they should know in advance and be given time for careful preparation of that part of the material they will discuss.

Suitability of the reading. In one sense the book becomes the instructor and the expert. Like the advocates of the "Great Book" approach, we believe that the didactic material should be the very best available in the field. If the reading material does not present a challenge to the students, it cannot become the basis for stimulating discussion.

Examinations. If students have rights, they have the right to be evaluated in terms of the activities they are expected to perform in their preparation and in their classroom performance. In classes where students are expected within limits to decide what is important to learn, examinations should be based on what they have learned. It is hardly fair for the instructor to hold a set of expectations—such as an examination prepared for the class as taught under another method—and to allow the group to proceed as though he held no such expectations. For the discussion method, examination questions to measure retention of the things students have discussed during their classes can be supplemented by devices to measure their ability to learn creatively new material using the intellectual skills they have practiced during their preparation and in discussions. Also, students can co-operate in constructing examination questions by selecting the areas of knowledge in which they think they should have competence as a result of their discussions.

The instructor's expertness. Each instructor is an expert in some field and usually is assigned courses to teach in keeping with his specialization. Conducting discussion classes denies the instructor the opportunity of giving the students the benefit of this specialized knowledge in any organized way, unless he is using a text he wrote himself or unless he makes his lectures available to his students in printed form. The instructor who feels that his knowledge of the material or his method of organization is superior to the available texts may find this discussion method of teaching extremely useful if he prepares his lectures in printed form especially for discussion by his students.

The academic tradition. The discussion method of learning involves some rather simple-minded skills such as repeating, reciting, rephrasing, and so forth, which may be viewed by the instructor or the students as beneath their dignity. In introducing the method to students and teachers, we have gotten resistance of this nature. One way of dealing with the resistance is to offer assurance that one group need spend time on these elementary activities only as long as they are needed to insure that all group members have an accurate understanding of the material—and that they know what they are talking about.

Management of the discussion. We have recommended that the instructor refrain from becoming a discussion leader once the procedures, skills, and criteria for maintaining the class discussion have been developed. Students will frequently contend that they must have formal leadership. They should be given freedom to select discussion leaders from among their members or to appoint committees to do pre-planning. The groups with which we have worked, as they become skillful as discussants and familiar with the method, abandon the practice of delegating leadership and share it very effectively.

Size of class. The discussion method as we describe it, or adaptations of it, has been used with classes ranging in size from six to ninety students. In small classes there is no problem, but with large classes the method can be used only when there are adequate facilities for subgrouping. Students can learn from a book and from each other once they have acquired the skills with which to do so. If sub-grouping is necessary, the instructor can confine himself to the training and process role or can rotate among the sub-groups as a subject matter resource person. A group of twenty students or under should be able to utilize the method without sub-grouping.

Range of applicability. One of the beauties of the discussion method as we have described it is that it can be used by any instructor regardless of his previous training as a discussion leader. This statement is based on our experience. The method was first used with a class composed primarily of college teachers studying scientific subject matter. As a result of the experience of studying together in the way we have described, the students who were teachers of every conceivable subject matter ranging from mathematics and music to military science and economics decided to use the method in conducting their own classes. Their experiences as students in this method were so rewarding that they decided to teach with it. This suggested to us that others could use the method we evolved or one similar to it as successfully as we. Recently a group of young instructors were introduced to it in a one-hour meeting, when we communicated essentially what this paper reports. All used the method with success and were kind enough to get written evaluations of it from their students. As a result of these and similar experiences we are convinced that the kind of discussion which we evolved from theories and practices not unknown to others is sound and suitable for any subject matter in which students need an intellectual understanding of the material to make it useful to them or for any instructor who wants to try it. We hope that many teachers who have developed their own modifications of learning through discussion may also receive some insight from our experiences.

Evaluation and conclusion

In one sense it is presumptious for us to attempt to evaluate our particular method without controlled measurement to back up our claims. We have no statistics to present but can only report our subjective judgment based on a great deal of experience as teachers, students, human relations trainers, and discussion leaders. We have been students or teachers in classes conducted in a great variety of ways and honestly feel that there can be no more rewarding experience for either student or teacher than to be a member of a class operating as classes do using this method. The advantages we see are as follows:

In the planning stage students are helped to understand why and how discussion will aid them to learn the subject matter, and they participate in establishing guides or procedures to make this learning as thorough as possible.

In preparation for the discussion students improve in ability to read critically, to select material important enough to discuss, to assess their own strengths and weaknesses, and to organize material to introduce into the discussion.

During the discussion students actually learn together in a co-operative manner that provides constant feed-back on the quality of their learning; they develop skill in asking questions and in making comments for testing their own understanding; they take responsibility for mature classroom behavior; and they evaluate the excellence of their own discussion in terms of their own learning goals.

The instructor's role is clear-cut and well defined; he can tolerate initial failure and frustration without anxiety because the method has self-corrective mechanisms; he need not be a skilled discussion leader because he shares the responsibility for managing the discussion with his students and helps them to learn the skills needed; he is free to learn as well as to teach; and he knows that his students are really learning something which they can retain and use.

The method creates high morale based on realistic achievement because students can see evidence that their increasing skill as discussants helps them to progress toward their academic goals; students are motivated to prepare more thoroughly because each member shares the responsibility for conducting a meaningful and productive discussion.

* * *

It is becoming more and more common for instructors to use the discussion method in their classes. This trend in higher education is only justified if it improves the quality of learning, which is, after all, the unique function of the university. In this paper we have tried to articulate how and under what conditions we believe that discussion does improve the quality of learning. We have purposely omitted mention of the psychological or emotional advantages of the method. We have not dwelt on these because of the general availability of philosophical and scientific papers calling attention to the emotional benefits devolving upon individuals who co-operate in productive democratic enterprise or a mutual exploring and sharing of problems vital to all. We have said that a discussion class becomes a group and is subject to the vicissitudes that beset any group; by the same token the members of such a class, if successful in their group endeavor, will reap abundant psychological rewards.

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RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
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notes and essays on education for adults

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Pleasures in Learning

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an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults.

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

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RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

PLEASURES IN LEARNING

Selected Essays

from a series published for students in the
Division of General Education,
New York University

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS
December 1958

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

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PREFACE

The articles which follow were first printed in "Pleasures in Learning," a monthly publication of the Division of General Education of New York University. This is a school organized around the interests and needs of adult students. Some fifteen thousand register each year, from every walk of life and every part of metropolitan New York. And they enroll not for "credit," but because they wish to learn.

In such a school, quality of instruction comes first. These students are not "fooling." And a truly good teacher can make his students forget—well, almost!—the appearance of the classroom in which they meet and the fact that it was probably not planned with them in mind.

But even so, a continuing problem in a large urban school like our Division of General Education is: how can we help to create the sense of community which is a real part of a liberal education for adults? We could hardly have many occasions which thousands of our students would share at one time. And so, some years ago, we set about to plan a series of "special events" to promote a feeling of community. There were technical forums, poetry readings, recitals, art exhibits, panel discussions, informal recorded "concerts," teas and field trips—all without charge. When these events finally numbered 70 to 80 each year, reasons of economy persuaded us to publish a monthly calendar for our students, listing them all. And because this gave us opportunity, we decided to add an editorial each month, addressed to our students and our friends in the community. We hoped such essays could talk about adult study without sounding ponderous and moralizing.

Naturally we are pleased that the Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults has selected a number of these articles for publication. Some are serious, some are light, some are both at once. They speak for themselves, and tell of the pleasures and profit of going to school as an adult student.

I would add only one thought: some people, including many who should know better, believe that if so many millions of mature men and women go back to school it must be for some negative reason: their schooling has been incomplete; or they are uneasy, unsure, troubled about this world. Our sidewalk philosophers like their conclusions neat and psychoanalytically colorful.

Actually, the first suggestion makes no sense at all, since everyone's education is incomplete. As for the rest, the opposite is true. The adult who has stopped growing intellectually is doomed to immaturity, and those who build for the future need not look to him. The ranks of the "viewers-with-alarm" are swollen with those who are willing to stand pat with what they have of worldly goods and of knowledge.

But there are others, those who add to their store of learning, of interests, of abilities to do and to enjoy. These are the people who have taken charge of their lives, who can look over the edge into the future with a growing sense of being able to mold it.

However humble an instrument, "Pleasures in Learning" is dedicated to this end. I hope you will enjoy these essays.

PAUL A. MCGHEE
Dean
Division of General Education

THE RIGHT JOB

By WALLACE GOBETZ

Dr. Gobetz is Director of New York University's Testing and Advisement Center, which in its 12-year history has served more than 53,000 clients.

"If you were to begin all over again, would you go into the same line of work?"

This provocative question was asked of a representative sample of workers in the United States by the Gallup pollsters in 1950. ONE out of every THREE said, "No." If the sentiment is general, over 20,000,000 Americans are somewhat less than happy in their jobs! The poll was reinforced by information from other sources:

- 25 per cent of all college graduates wish they had selected a different major
- half of all students entering college do not graduate
- some 450,000 persons of college age are not attending college even though they are "college material"
- only two out of every three engineers work at their profession directly (most of the others go into executive work, sales, or finance)
- 50 to 65 per cent of high-school students state vocational preferences for professional and managerial occupations, even though less than 20 per cent of all workers are so engaged
- only one third of all liberal arts freshmen at a large midwestern university entered college with a definite vocational goal and, of these, one third had shifted their choice by the end of the freshman year
- a follow-up study of a freshman class at Stanford University after 19 years revealed that only 50 per cent of them were in an occupation related to their original vocational choice
- only 7 per cent of girls aged 11–18 dream of a factory worker or farmer as a husband

Although we hear a great deal these days about mental health and the desirability of good emotional and social adjustments, much less publicity has been given to *failures in occupational adjustment*. Dr. Karl Menninger says that three fourths of psychiatric patients suffer from dissatisfaction in their work. His assertion may seem more credible when it is recalled that occupational choice may influence one's choice of friends, where the family will live and children go to school, how often the worker will see his family, physical and mental health, a woman's chances of marriage, and values, standards, ideals, and daily conduct.

Moreover, your lifework is big business. If you work 45 years (from 20 to 65) at an average of $5,500 per year at a job appropriate to your abilities and interests, you will earn $247,500 in your lifetime. In a job for which you are less well fitted, you may earn only $202,500 ($4,500 per year × 45 years)—a net loss of $45,000, attributable, at least in part, to poor educational or vocational planning. Incidentally, other things being equal, a high-school graduate at age 45 will earn $1,000 more per year than a person who has completed just eight years of schooling, and the lifetime earnings of a college graduate will exceed those of an equally able high-school graduate by approximately $100,000. Failure to attain the educational level of which you are capable can be costly.

Why Job Dissatisfactions?

Why is there so great a gap between the vocational aspirations of youth and the frequent occupational failure of later years? Why do more than half of us select a lifework almost accidentally, without knowledge of ourselves or of the world of work?

Perhaps the major reason for unrealistic aims and consequent feelings of frustration and hopeless entrapment is the value system of American society. Our culture places a premium upon materialism, "rugged individualism," and competitiveness. Money and possessions, the American dream that the attainment of success is limited only by the initiative of the individual, the tradition of keeping up with the Joneses, the overweening ambition to surpass our classmates, rise above our co-workers, and outdistance our predecessors and contemporaries—these are the values to which we are daily exposed and which we incorporate in greater or lesser degree into our personal philosophy.

No longer is the child expected to follow in his father's footsteps; he must *exceed* his father. The boy who wants to be a machinist is urged to become an engineer; the bookkeeper, an accountant; the draftsman, an architect. The girl who wishes to be a salesclerk is exhorted to become a buyer; the alteration worker, a fashion designer; the nurse, a physician. In a public opinion poll reported in *The Wage Earner Forum* in 1949, 76 per cent of all respondents said *yes* when asked: "Do you hope or expect that at least one of your children will attend college?" Yet the President's Commission on Higher Education in 1947 asserted that only 32 per cent of the 18-year-olds could be expected to complete college on the basis of scholastic aptitude.

About six years ago, the writer had occasion to counsel at the New York University Testing and Advisement Center an 18-year-old youth who at first expressed a desire to become a physician. Discussion brought out the admission that he would have preferred to study dental mechanics at a two-year community college but his father had insisted that he become a professional man. His *aptitude tests* disclosed an average I.Q., weak aptitude for the abstractions of higher mathematics, underdeveloped reading abilities, fair mechanical reasoning capacity, and comparatively good arithmetic ability and clerical aptitude. *Interest inventories* revealed strong predilections from computational and clerical activities but only moderate preferences for mechanical and scientific pursuits.

Clearly, this boy would have had a reasonable chance for success and satisfaction as a bookkeeper but would be bucking overwhelming odds in an effort to enter the highly competitive field of medicine. His original choice of dental mechanics, while more appropriate from the standpoint of general ability, would, however, have been unfortunate because he was not interested in the work. His father chose to disregard the findings, however, and, challenging the validity of the tests, stated categorically that his son would become a physician in spite of the pessimistic pronouncements of the Testing and Advisement Center. A follow-up instituted by the center four years later disclosed that the young man had completed two years of a premedical course at an obscure Southern college with a B— average. He then transferred to Washington Square College at New York University, from which he was dropped for poor scholarship after one semester. Shortly thereafter, he was drafted into the Army after failing the Selective Service College Qualification Test. Many have similarly hitched their wagons to a star only to discover that the harness was moonbeams and the star a flashing meteor all too soon burned out by the relentless friction of that life space we call reality.

Romance and Reality

Our schools and colleges must bear their share of responsibility for the disillusionment of those who have yet to find a suitable vocational niche. High-school curriculums are primarily oriented toward professional, business, and skilled occupations, and it is these occupations that are talked about in and out of the classroom. Middle-class teachers with middle-class values stress middle- and upper-class vocations, despite the fact that half the working population are engaged in service, farm, and semiskilled occupations.

It is encouraging to note that more and more high schools are introducing occupational orientation courses into their curriculums, but a large proportion of adolescents continue to get inaccurate, incomplete, or obsolete information about a very limited number of occupations. Although some 20,000 jobs are defined in the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles,* few of us can name more than 30 or 40 occupations. And how much do we know of the duties, requirements, and employment prospects of those we can name?

Oh, the romance of the law, of journalism, and of the theater!

Students should be told that the average blue-collar worker makes more than the white-collar employee, that printers often earn more than reporters, that many milk drivers and waiters earn $125 per week, that tugboat dispatchers are paid $9,000 and some tug pilots $20,000 annually, that sanitation workers receive as much pay as many social workers and college teachers, and that bricklayers and carpenters have a higher pay scale than bookkeepers and office managers. Keep in mind that there are 500,000 automobile mechanics but only 10,000 commercial airline pilots. There are one million elementary- and high-school teachers and only a few thousand airline hostesses.

Our colleges also contribute unwittingly to vocational uncertainty and occupational dissatisfaction by emphasizing the selection of "majors" rather than vocational objectives. Instead of having a vocational goal toward which their courses are oriented, an alarming number of students—especially in the liberal arts colleges—choose major subjects on the basis of such superficial criteria as an "A" in the introductory course or a desire to be in the same classes as a friend who is majoring in a particular field.

Vocational counselors in adult community counseling agencies and college counseling centers are all too familiar with clients who have majored in English literature, fine arts, philosophy, and history, with virtually no conception of employment opportunities in their field after graduation. I have repeatedly received applications for employment at the Testing and Advisement Center from young college graduates with bachelor's degrees in psychology who want to "do something in my major field" but who consider the routine entry jobs open to them beneath their dignity.

But the Job Isn't Everything

Perhaps at this point it should be noted that the foregoing remarks are not intended to disparage the cultural, social, and intellectual values of a liberal education by emphasizing a more "practical" and utilitarian approach to higher education. The chairman of the board of General Motors has said: "Give us *educated* men. We can *train* them ourselves." Education is, in the final analysis, a process of *becoming* as well as learning—a preface to learning rather than an end result. Breadth of inquiry is conducive to the development of an attitude of critical evaluation, healthy skepticism, and independent thinking as opposed to acceptance on blind faith or authority. College training *and* adult education broaden intellectual horizons, promote tolerance of other points of view, enrich social contacts, stimulate creativity, and contribute to self-fulfillment. General education is as much, if not more, of a necessity than a narrowly specialized curriculum whose only goal is vocational preparation. A man so absorbed in the business of making a living as to be devoid of other interest or activity is indeed a pathetic creature—a hollow "success" in a devitalized human spirit.

On the other hand, "education" as we know it is too frequently "object-oriented." We spend much of our time learning about persons, places, things, and ideas "out there"—about Charlemagne, the Acropolis, nuclear reactors, and Baudelaire. Much of this knowledge "rubs off" on us, but is not the *self* an appropriate object of inquiry in its own right? Should not the "educated person" also know something of his own abilities, his own interests, his own attitudes, values, feelings, needs, and goals? Why do we undergo annual physical examinations and see our dentists twice a year while we rarely take the trouble to check our mental and emotional equipment—our abilities and limitations, likes and dislikes, personality assets and liabilities—as they relate to a vocational choice commensurate with our capacities, consonant with our interests, and congenial to our temperamental qualities?

Vocational Guidance for the "Adjusted"

Traditionally, vocational guidance has been regarded as a desperate expedient for the scholastically deficient, the vocationally confused, the occupationally dissatisfied, and the emotionally maladjusted. It has even been said that a high-school or college student could not gain the attention of the vocational counselor unless he threw a brick through the window of the counselor's office. Fortunately, the era of "crisis guidance" is rapidly receding, and in its place has come the conception that guidance is a continuous process applicable at all stages of development from childhood to late maturity.

People change and occupations change. This means new looks at the self and new evaluations of the environment. Think, for example, of the far-reaching effects of the airplane and television on the present and of automation and atomic energy on the future. Think of the individual whose job has become obsolete, of the man who, at age 40, is beset with the fear that he will not attain the heights to which he had aspired. . . . An accounting clerk wonders whether he is executive material. . . . A "job hopper" now finds it more difficult to obtain a position because of frequent changes of employment. . . . A man feels he is in a rut because he has remained in the same job even when the opportunities for development and advancement were exhausted. . . . A policeman or foreman wants to plan for a new vocation after retirement, and a merchant marine officer wants to "settle down" on dry land. . . . And the mother with grown children wants a job to keep herself occupied.

Clearly, vocational guidance is not limited to the young student; it is for all adults who want to realize their potentialities.

Unlike the psychotherapist, who works with "patients," or the teacher who deals with "students," the vocational counselor assists "clients," *i.e.*, normal persons with problems. He does not give advice, write a prescription, or draft an elaborate blueprint of the future; rather, he tries to create a climate within which wise decisions will be made. He does not know all the answers, nor does he pretend to.

Contrary to popular belief, aptitude testing is *not* vocational guidance. Like the X rays, blood analyses, and electroencephalographs of the medical diagnostician, psychological tests in vocational counseling are a tool—a means to an end—and the results have meaning only in relation to the client's past history and present circumstances and in proportion to the counselor's interpretive skill. Unlike the physician's patient, however, the individual who goes to the counselor must be prepared to play an active role; he cannot sit by passively waiting to be prodded, manipulated, or palliated. The essence of counseling is discussion, and of discussion, participation.

Whether vocational guidance is for you is a question only you can decide. Not everyone needs counseling; and those who do need it require it in varying degrees. Mozart knew at the age of five that he would be a musician, and there seems to be little doubt that Robert Strom of "$64,000 Question" fame will enter the field of science. But if you feel that self-knowledge may enable you to gain some measure of self-realization in your occupational life, vocational guidance may be worth your time and effort.

* * *

THE MORAL DIMENSION OF SCIENCE

By WILLIAM GRUEN

Associate Professor Gruen teaches courses in philosophy, logic, and the history of civilization.

Science appears to most people as an esoteric profession whose methods of inquiry are of interest only to the professional scientists and to philosophers. Shall we be content to view science in the shape of its endless technological products, its machines, materials, and techniques? Scientific thought was not always so eclipsed by its services to the artisan and the engineer. For example, in ancient Greece, which in the eyes of many historians was the cradle of science, it was cultivated in almost complete separation from the crafts and the technical know-how of those times. Science was primarily a matter for intellectual enjoyment; it was an object of contemplation, withdrawn from the practical life of society.

Today, although there is an intimate association between science and technology we have achieved a new withdrawal of science from its social environment through its extreme professionalization. Our scientists are not amateurs, not individual investigators working in private studies and laboratories, as in former times. They are now professionals supported or employed by universities or large research organizations and the scientist would find it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to carry on his work without the aid of these institutions.

Besides, there has been a change in the meaning as well as in the social role of science. In the days of Franklin and Jefferson science was a pervasive intellectual attitude, an approach for every educated man to the problems of nature and society. Our culture on the whole has lost this attitude and, although we live in "an age of science," we have become estranged from nature as well. The order of nature, which was the wonder of former ages, moves us neither to wonder nor to reflection. The intellectual content of science has become less a matter of general human concern; we are likely to relegate it to the "institutions" of science and to regard science as an academic departmental responsibility.

This remoteness of science has tended to lessen its influence on prevailing ideologies and world views. It has also obscured certain human values implicit in scientific method, values which are independent of the many contributions that modern science has made toward our physical comfort, health, safety, and destructive power. Nevertheless, an adequate appreciation of the nature of scientific inquiry must take into account these underlying moral values. These values become explicit in the defense of science against social and moral authoritarianism.

During the twentieth century the attack on free inquiry in science has come not from its traditional antagonist, namely, institutionalized religion, but from organized communism and fascism. Outside of totalitarian countries there has been no significant attempt at the suppression of knowledge for the sake of perpetuating an orthodoxy, either political or religious. Usually the control exerted on science under democratic regimes has shown itself as a kind of influence, an indirect pressure on the scientific community. Industry through its own laboratories or through subsidized research in universities makes it difficult, if not impossible, for the individual scientist to ignore its scientific and technological needs. Governments too have a stake in scientific research and, by promoting inquiry into certain types of problems related to increased military or economic power, exert a directive pressure on trends in scientific research.

Do such incentives and influences amount to a limitation or restraint of inquiry in science? It is, of course, true that they create prevailing interests in certain problems to the neglect of others. But they do not prohibit inquiry outside these preferred channels and apply no restrictive sanctions against scientists who choose to pursue inquiries unrelated to current military or industrial needs.

Nevertheless, the *influence* exerted by economic or governmental forces has been regarded in some quarters as comparable to the *controls* exercised by totalitarian states. Some Marxists have in fact seen it as the class orientation of science in capitalist democracies. Such a view can arise only through a confusion of incentives with coercion, incentives that function within the tried methods of scientific inquiry, and coercion that substitutes authoritarian dogma in place of the warranted conclusions of science. If the prevailing climate of science interferes with a scientist's efforts to secure institutional support for some unpopular line of research, one might perhaps say that he is not "free" to carry on his inquiry. But the word has a very different meaning when we apply it to a scientist in a totalitarian country who is not *free* to affirm a conclusion to which he is led by the evidences of scientific inquiry.

The difference is fundamental, although we may lose sight of it if we consider only that in both cases an inquiry has been effectively stopped. The two cases may seem to be the same in effect. On the one hand, special interests in a democratic country divert available resources to the investigation of other problems, leaving the scientist without the means needed for the inquiry that those interests are trying to gag. On the other hand, a totalitarian state prohibits a certain inquiry, suppresses a warranted conclusion, or compels assent to doctrines not supported by scientific evidence. In both cases there is interference with the progress of inquiry as the scientist conceives it. But here the resemblance ends and the vital differences suggest that we are dealing here with two very different kinds of social phenomena. For in the first case there is no attack on either civil liberties or on scientific method. In the second case both are subverted. In the first case the scientist still retains the right to seek public support and to challenge any idea in the light of reflective inquiry. In the second case, however, we are dealing wih a privation of fundamental rights and with a corruption of method, a surrender of scientific inquiry to coercive authority.

Suppose now that the scientist in the totalitarian country did not share our dismay and indignation over his condition. He sees himself as a tough-minded realist. "Your social philosophy," says he, "consists of grandiose clichés like 'fundamental rights' and 'scientific inquiry' and 'coercive authority.' All empty echoes of a bourgeois romanticism. First of all, why assume that the authority in this case was coercive? Perhaps I voluntarily withdrew my scientific findings. Second, if scientific method—as you call it—was surrendered it was only because it was properly subordinated to other values. Why should science be regarded as an absolute, ultimate end? Isn't it after all just a tool? As a means for achieving the desired ends of social action, science is merely an instrument in the service of social policy. Its role must be decided on the merits of each situation. And in some cases it must yield to more appropriate social instruments. There are occasions when ideas must be validated by political rather than by scientific considerations."

"But," we ask, "what about truth? Don't you feel an obligation to affirm only the truth as you see it?"

"Mere slogans and catchwords," says he. "When it comes to social action they are just archaic tokens of the Academy, relics of an age when science was an object of contemplation and not a tool of action. Today we speak of effective and ineffective ideas, not of the true and the false. Our science is practical. Its ideas serve to direct and influence behavior and to this end a so-called 'false' idea may be at times better than a 'true' one."

There is at least one important aspect of this argument with which it would be difficult to disagree, namely, that scientific inquiry is not an ultimate end. Most people recognize that inquiry in science as in any other cultural enterprise enjoys only a relative freedom; the range of its activities is circumscribed by the requirements of other social ideals. For example, we would not allow any inquiry in science that entails cruel or humiliating treatment of human beings. In principle it is acknowledged that some limitations of inquiry are justified. The essential question is whether such limitation of inquiry shall be imposed by arbitrary authority or by democratic policy based on a reflective examination of relative values and consequences.

And here we come upon the basic issues that separate the two social philosophies: one of authoritarian control, the other of relative democratic limitation of inquiry. These issues arise from conflicting views of the nature of science and the scope of scientific inquiry. The defense of authoritarian controls over science rejects the concept of a unified science that holds scientific method equally applicable to the natural and to the social sciences. Instead it is asserted that inquiry is limited to techniques and instrumentalities, while the choice of ends and values is guided by factors related to national, racial, or class loyalties. From this viewpoint science must be subordinated to dominant social and political aims. The resulting perversion of scientific inquiry not only invalidates it with regard to social and moral problems but also impugns its authority in the study of nature. The attack on free inquiry in the social sciences thus tends also to undermine the natural sciences.

It is significant to note that this dualism with regard to science is not confined to totalitarian states. It has gained support in democratic countries as well and has provided, if not a defense, then at least a friendly tolerance of authoritarian doctrines such as are fostered by Soviet Russia or other totalitarian states. Such tolerance is possible if we think of science merely in light of the esoteric abstractions of physical science and its intricate experimental apparatus. From this perspective science appears so removed from human relations and human values that it is easy to see it merely as technique.

This is the more familiar conception of science since it is in this aspect that it has demonstrated its most conspicuous triumphs.

So long as science is esteemed only because of its serviceability, because of some obvious contribution to human comfort, pleasures, and security, its "freedom" will be a precarious and ambiguous thing. Too many people, like the totalitarian scientists in my earlier example, will be able to reconcile the technical uses of science with a failure to appreciate its role as an integral part of our culture. This failure derives from the idea of science as a body of conclusions and techniques. But science is also a cultural attitude embodied in the habitual will to employ certain methods of observation and reflection as the ground of belief. The cultivation of this attitude is a condition of enduring freedom in scientific inquiry and is in fact its cultural or moral dimension.

To see these moral aspects of scientific inquiry, it must be first disassociated from its more familiar subject matter, namely, the physical sciences and engineering. We will then see scientific inquiry, not as a technique restricted to special provinces of knowledge, but as an approach to any situation in which we are called upon to make dependable judgments. Conceived thus, scientific method entails two essential criteria that guide the formation of well-grounded beliefs. The first criterion is that the judgments we arrive at, as well as the grounds of evidence that support them, must be public, must be observable to all persons. Dependable judgment, in this sense, is communal. The second is that assent to any belief or evidence is voluntary; that is to say, every individual retains the right to dissent. But such dissent should not be arbitrary; it must also be guided by considerations that meet the first criterion of sharability.

These two criteria are in effect the affirmation of a community and a certain independence of all persons with respect to knowledge. The consensus of this community is never fixed, never closed. It is a community of method not of doctrine. It is an open community, a community of minds that are always open to the defense of new ideas or to criticism of old ones. Nothing is secure from this critical scrutiny, not even the most familiar or the most widespread or the most venerable of beliefs. Scientific method requires the social conditions of unrestrained communication and, while it recognizes that everything cannot be questioned at once, it affirms that nothing whatever is above question.

When Descartes resolved "to accept nothing as true which I did not clearly recognize to be so" he was affirming what was for his time a revolutionary program, a principle of skepticism toward those ideas whose only support is the endorsement by some authoritative person or tradition. A correlative of this skepticism is the right to independent judgment in the light of one's own reason. To deny this right is in effect to constrain belief. This constraint need not take the form of a reign of terror under which belief or at least public acquiescence is secured by intimidation and fear. Belief may be forced by denying to the individual all access to sources of critical and dissenting ideas, in other words, by indoctrination. Many people who would be quick to resent the propagation of beliefs by intimidation will placidly tolerate indoctrination.

The method of scientific inquiry is opposed to both forms of authoritarianism. It seeks to rest belief on grounds that are not peculiar to this or that culture or region or race even when it investigates matters of race or culture. It warrants only those beliefs that transcend cultural or religious barriers because scientific method addresses itself to the individual not as a member of his society or religion or country, but as *man* whose community with others is not affected by his ancestry, his color, his politics, his nation, nor any other restrictive association. For in respect to knowledge and belief, he is the equal of all other men, all of whom are equally independent members of that free community to which scientific method looks for warrant, namely, the universal community of man whose consensus, however precarious, is the only source of that unsteady glow and faltering excellence we call truth.

* * *

"MAN HAS NOT YET SAID HIS LAST WORD"

By MARGARET HALSEY

For the title, Miss Halsey has adopted a sentence of André Gide. Miss Halsey is the well-known author of many books, including **Color Blind, The Folks at Home, Some of My Best Friends Are Soldiers, *and* With Malice Toward Some. *She has been a student in several Division courses.***

For all the sparkle of chrome on new automobiles and all the lilting poesy of cigarette commercials, the basic atmosphere of present-day American society tends to be one of settled gloom. Candidly confronted, this basic atmosphere requires that one should ask—and not shrink from the answer—whether there is any sense in spending time and money on evening classes which, perhaps, afford a new perspective on politics or make the eyes feel less glazed and unresponsive when confronted by great paintings.

Dealt with in strictest honesty, the answer would seem to be that there is *not* much sense. What good is a new and illuminating view of anthropology when nobody knows how many babies will be born defective within the next few years because of hydrogen bomb tests whose end is not in sight? Why should *mature* people study Socratic dialogue when so many of the newspapers say that what our country needs is a banner crop of brilliantly educated striplings to dream up equations for knocking the Russians out of intergalactic space?

Why not go home after the day's work and look at television? Or at least drug the gnawing sense of not having lived and the weary feeling of frustration by embarking on do-it-yourself crusades around the house?

The reply to these questions is not as obvious as it seems at first. A thought-through and satisfying answer depends on what sort of view one has of society. The reason for the anxiety which has been described—without much fear of contradiction—as the keynote of present-day American society is that society is conceived of as not being subject to change. The anxiety is based on the assumption that our society was not shaped and formed by us now living—that nothing we think or do can affect it greatly—that it was handed on to us by Heaven-knows-who and that we can only stand by (in rather appealing innocence and helplessness) as it hurtles toward what seems to be its preordained end.

One of the most succinct expressions of this attitude is to be found in an article in defense of advertising in the February 1958 issue of *Harper's*. Written by one Martin Mayer as part of a forthcoming book entitled *Madison Avenue, U.S.A.*, the article states that the advertising man "did not create the culture in which, perforce, he has to work."

No?

Well, then, who did?

A free society is created by the thoughts, utterances, and actions of the people who are alive in it. The teacher who sets forth to her daily responsibilities every morning, the advertising man who dreams up the singing commercials, the journalist who writes (or who does not write) with all the force of his most deeply held convictions—you—I—everybody, *we* make the American society in which we live.

A free society is the sum of millions upon millions of individual decisions. Any decision that is enhancing and enlarging and life-expanding is a contribution—minute, perhaps, but definite—to the affirmative side of the culture. Similarly, any decision that is slack, sterile, and negative is by just that much destructive of the society. What is perhaps more important, these decisions are inwardly *felt* to be good or bad by the people who make them, even though not all those people will be sufficiently trained in verbalization to express the feeling fluently.

A Russian bureaucrat, a Volga peasant, or a Siberian engineer might say, with some expectation of being believed, that he "did not create the culture in which, perforce, he has to work." But our society was not shaped by forced collectivizations or given its present direction by punitively engineered famines. There is still room in it for the exploration of mental frontiers. There is still a need—more than ever before, in fact—for people who reject ignorance, narrowness, and the sealed mind.

As a matter of fact, one has to feel grateful to Mr. Mayer, author of the *Harper's* article, for expressing in thirteen words one of the most prevalent fictions of our time and place. Mr. Mayer talks as if our society was created by a set of pinheaded but spiteful dinosaurs, who suddenly became extinct about fifty years ago, leaving behind them McCann-Erickson and the Gallup Poll. According to that popular belief, if we have weakly succumbed to commercial crassness, anti-intellectualism, and the rule of folly, it is not our fault. It can all be blamed on the Founding Dinosaurs.

One has only to look at this popular fallacy to see how ridiculous and cowardly it is. In a time of anti-intellectualism, study and exploration and the quest for knowledge are not futile and beside the point. They are not "unrealistic." Quite the contrary, in fact. They are necessary and meaningful assertions of faith.

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A COMEDY OF COMMAS

By MAXWELL NURNBERG

Mr. Nurnberg has taught courses in Mastering Good English; he wrote What's the Good Word *and is co-author of* How to Build a Better Vocabulary.

The comedy of commas, of course, is that it is a comedy of errors. And speaking of which, let us note immediately that Shakespeare knew how to get a laugh through the judicious placing of a wiggly comma. Listen to this exchange (*Othello,* Act III, Scene 1):

CASSIO: Dost thou hear, my honest friend? Q

CLOWN: No, I hear not your honest friend; I hear you.

The dictionary defines the comma as "a mark of punctuation (,) used to indicate the smallest interruptions in continuity of thought or grammatical constructions." But this demure definition should not be taken to deny the demoniacal quality of this inconspicuous little spot on a page. The comma has caused a great deal more than its fair share of trouble in legal documents, in love letters—indeed, in all sorts of important communications. Naturally enough, people who have not been in a grammar class for some years feel uncomfortable when they confront the tiny irritant.

THE COMEDY OF COMMAS

At any rate, the comma has its lighter side. Like Shakespeare, many a sign-board scribbler today knows how to get a striking effect by unexpected punctuation. He can take a trespass warning like

PRIVATE
NO SWIMMING
ALLOWED

and turn it into a public invitation reading

PRIVATE?
NO! SWIMMING
ALLOWED

You may get a laugh from some of the sentences given below, but you will also get an idea of how important punctuation is in making sentences say what you want them to say.

How good are you at differentiating between the parallel sentences that follow—sentences in which the presence or absence of some mark of punctuation makes all the difference? To help you find out how good you are, answers are given on page 13. If you get all 24 right, it's sheer perfection; 20 or more is excellent; 15 to 20, good. If you get less than 15, perhaps a refresher course is indicated!

1.*a)* Thirteen girls knew the secret, all told.
b) Thirteen girls knew the secret; all told.
(Which is a libel on the fair sex?)

2.*a)* I left him convinced he was a fool.
b) I left him, convinced he was a fool.
(Which sentence shows extraordinary powers of persuasion?)

3.*a)* Mr. Rogers, the secretary is two hours late.
b) Mr. Rogers, the secretary, is two hours late.
(In which sentence is Mr. Rogers likely to be bawled out?)

4.*a)* What's the latest dope?
b) What's the latest, dope?
(Both are slang greetings but which is insulting?)

5.*a)* The butler was asked to stand by the door and call the guests names as they arrived.
b) The butler was asked to stand by the door and call the guests' names as they arrived.
(Which may result in an embarrassing situation?)

6.*a)* Shall I stick the stamp on, myself?
b) Shall I stick the stamp on myself?
(Which will require a lot of postage?)

7.*a)* The Republicans, say the Democrats, are sure to win the 1956 election.
b) The Republicans say the Democrats are sure to win the 1956 election.
(Both statements are in the realm of fantasy, but which prediction means a change in administration?)

8.*a)* SENATE GROUP EATS CHICKENS, CABINET WIVES, SWEETBREADS.
b) SENATE GROUP EATS CHICKENS; CABINET WIVES, SWEETBREADS.
(Which headline seems cannibalistic?)

9.*a)* The President urged voters to elect Republican senators and congressmen, who would be sure to support his program to the hilt.
b) The President urged voters to elect Republican senators and congressmen who would be sure to support his program to the hilt.
(Which is a blanket endorsement of all Republican candidates?)

10.*a)* In the parade will be several hundred children, carrying flags, and many important officials.
b) In the parade will be several hundred children, carrying flags and many important officials.
(Which is easier for the children?)

11.*a)* A pretty young salesgirl waited on me.
b) A pretty, young salesgirl waited on me.
(By which salesgirl would you rather be waited on?)

12.*a)* A clever dog knows it's master.
b) A clever dog knows its master.
(In which case does the dog have the upper paw?)

13.*a)* The play ended, happily.
b) The play ended happily.
(Which is unflattering to the play?)

14.*a)* Go slow—children.
b) Go slow, children.
(Which is a warning to drivers?)

15.*a)* POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY BROKEN DOWN BY AGE AND SEX.
b) POPULATION OF NEW YORK CITY, BROKEN DOWN BY AGE AND SEX.
(Which headline is unfair to 8,000,000 people?)

16.*a)* Miami must still play Iowa, which tied Notre Dame, and Missouri.
b) Miami must still play Iowa, which tied Notre Dame and Missouri.
(In which case has Miami only one game left to play?)

17.*a)* What great scientist recently wrote an article beginning with the three-word sentence, "I am frightened"?
b) What great scientist recently wrote an article beginning with the three-word sentence, "I am frightened?"
(In which sentence does the scientist imply that he is not frightened?)

18.*a)* Everyone I know has a secret ambition.
b) Everyone, I know, has a secret ambition.
(In which one has the speaker pried into the private lives of his friends?)

19.*a)* Do not break your bread or roll in your soup.
b) Do not break your bread, or roll in your soup.
(Both show bad manners but which is harder to do?)

20.*a)* He ate a half-fried chicken.
b) He ate a half fried chicken.
(Which was probably followed by heartburn?)

21.*a)* We'd like to have you see our students work.
b) We'd like to have you see our students' work.
(Which is an invitation to some kind of exhibit?)

22.*a)* In other words, the accent is on the second syllable.
b) In other words the accent is on the second syllable.
(Which is merely a repetition for emphasis?)

23.*a)* In normal times the company I work for employs a hundred odd men and women.
b) In normal times the company I work for employs a hundred-odd men and women.
(In which company would you rather be personnel manager?)

24.*a)* She, too, eagerly awaits the spring.
b) She too eagerly awaits the spring.
(Which is the neurotic personality?)

CORRECT ANSWERS

1b	2a	3b	4b	5a	6b
7b	8a	9a	10a	11b	12a
13a	14a	15a	16b	17b	18a
19b	20a	21b	22a	23b	24b

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PUT THE SHOW ON THE ROAD, PROFESSOR

By **EDWARD H. SCHMIDT**

Mr. Schmidt's essay is a synthesis of his experience as an instructor in the Division. Adjunct Associate Professor of Literature, a teacher of writing, he has for many years been Associate Editor of the Reader's Digest.

Once a professor dreamed that he was lecturing and woke up to find it true.

Such a rude awakening, with tongue caught in the pincers of a split infinitive, will never jar the lecturer in an adult education division of a modern university. Such a teacher has an actor's flexibility and his lecture notes, alive and fluctuating, are interpreted with dramatic skill. He walks into the classroom as though it were a stage, the podium a proscenium arch, and, until he delivers his first line, he is as tense as an actor fumbling to find the mood of that night's theater.

He knows, after the first introductory sentences, whether he can relax with his script, whether sections had better be given a more forceful interpretation, or whether he had better underplay. He knows that a critical audience expresses itself by rasping coughs, shuffling feet, and shifting. He knows with an actor's intuition that poor material will make an audience forget that it is in a lecture hall and think of the commuter's train it must catch, the baby sitter at home, the doctor's bills—a hundred incidentals that can wreck his train of thought.

He knows that his appreciative audience is immeasurably more difficult than any actor must face. He may find himself in the uncomfortable position of a professor who droned from his ancient geology notes: "The deposit at the Delta is 5,000 annually."

"I'm sorry, professor," a student asked, "but will you repeat that, please?"

"The deposit at the Delta is 5,000 annually," the professor continued in the same monotone.

"I'm sorry," the student interrupted again, "but 5,000 *what?"*

The professor peered more closely at his yellowed pages. In utter bewilderment, he muttered, "Good heavens, it doesn't say!"

A poor play will make an audience leave the theater after the first act or wait restlessly until the end of the second, but a poor lecture will bombard the hapless lecturer with penetrating questions from an audience with a fervid interest in the subject and, above all, an aware and practical background. Each member of this audience has an aisle seat and, unlike the critic, he can ask questions while the play is going on and need not wait to write his scathing review for the morning edition.

The members of an adult study group have an inherent right and ability to be critical. They are not a captive student body, but free spirits who come to listen to a professional on a subject which may be a vital ingredient of their daily bread or the basis of their philosophy. They are not students, therefore, but graduates in living who wish to sharpen skills they already have or to acquire new ones in another area of living.

A lecture audience wants to enjoy itself but it does not require that a professor project his personality across the podium with the ease of a professional actor embracing his audience with his own vividness. Yet there have been comparable academic stars—like Kittredge of Harvard. When this famous savant caught his heel on the edge of a podium, he slipped down to one knee. Picking himself up with supple dignity, he apologized, "This is the first time Professor Kittredge has found himself at the level of his own classes!"

Kittredge, of course, could demand that his students attempt to reach his own scholastic eminence. When asked why he never took his doctorate, he bleached his inquisitor. "Who, might I ask [and he did so in a frosty voice], would give me the examination?"

The adult education professor can consider himself lucky if he reaches the level of his audiences not by sharing his personality but by the vitality with which he presents his subject. Adults know through their experiences that principles are derived, that theories are not enough. (They never have been: how many angels *are* there on the head of a pin?) Behind every war in a history course, behind every labor dispute in a class on business tactics, behind every literary movement lies the drama of human beings in a process of frustration or development. No idea exists without human

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motivation. The performance of an ideal educator depends on his ability to interpret the human drama in terms of the incomparable values of daily living. That is what adult education attempts to do: focus the light of reason and just inquiry on problems that face everyone, with the hope of achieving a unity of purpose within an individual.

Enlarging an audience's knowledge by vicarious experience is the duty of every lecturer. Teaching is a presentation of the drama behind the facts, an art that requires the artist to write his own script, direct it himself, and act with the sensitivity of an actor who can feel the pulsations of a variety of audiences. To reach them, to stop their coughing and fidgeting and set them on the edge of their seats with intellectual excitement demands more than knowledge. It asks for the birthright of a born actor: the instinct of empathy.

Empathy, a johnny-come-lately into the popular vocabulary, is an intellectual tool as well as an emotional one. A novelist described it succinctly: "When a fellow in my story pinches a girl, she must feel it—but the reader must feel it, too." To feel and comprehend at the same time amounts to insight.

When that insight is used in a lecture hall, the rapport between a lecturer and the audience achieves more than an intellectual stimulation. It gives lungs to theories that can then breathe as ideas. Once these are shared between the professor and his students, understanding is a personal possession and not mere words preserved within the boundaries of a philosophical concept and relegated to library shelves.

Blowing the dust off these tomes may be discouraging at times, for when one expects progress he may find that life is a rediscovery of platitudes. Recently, I was asked by a witty friend about the adult members of the Magazine Workshop I conduct. "It's a fine class," I answered with reflected pride. "There's a member of the English nobility visiting America, two doctors, a psychiatrist, a . . ."

"Ah," said my friend, "I can see you're out of your own class."

As usual, her humor was painfully accurate. What I had known about the theater, I found, was overwhelmingly true about the lecture hall. If I deserve to be called a professor, I must get "out of my class" into the audience and let everyone in the classroom get into the act.

* * *

HOW TO READ TWO BOOKS

By RUSSELL F. W. SMITH

Associate Dean of the Division of General Education, Mr. Smith is also president of the International Society for General Semantics.

Reading is either a lost art or, like the movies, it is bigger and better than ever. It all seems to depend on where you choose to look.

If you want to feel unqualified pessimism concerning the state of reading, specialize in the work of an obscure figure as poet A. E. Housman did in studying for some twenty years the *Astronomicon* of M. Manilius. Then you will be free to despise your contemporaries who do not appreciate the felicities of your chosen hobbyhorse. If you do not go to A. E. H.'s extreme, you can, like the Sherlock Holmes fans who formed the Baker Street Irregulars, rejoice in a small, allusive society that looks smugly down on the preliterates beyond the pale.

On the other hand, if you prefer an optimistic mood, you will point with statistical pride to the fact that 6,000,000,000 (pronounced "umpteen") paperback books will be sold—and perhaps read—next year. Passing lightly over the probability that 5,999,500,000 of them will be reprints of Erskine Caldwell, you will take delight in the prospect of finding Dreiser in the drugstores, Grotius among the groceries, and the *Noctes Ambrosianae* on the newsstands. Never before, you will state solemnly, have *such* books been *so* available.

Of course, if you want to keep either of these attitudes really simon-pure, you must close your eyes and ears to uncomfortable arguments brought by proponents of the opposite view. To be the compleat optimist, for example, you must overlook many of the titles and most of the cover designs on the paperbacks and close your ears to the complaints of Dr. Rudolf Flesch that people do not know enough phonics to read the books that are available. It is, to be sure, easy to close your ears. There are enough partisan authorities; with a modicum of discreet picking and choosing, you can prove anything about the state of reading—or anything else.

In fact, were I to join the prophets of doom, I should not choose to feel consternation over how many of which books are printed in what formats, nor over whether people read aloud or silently or rapidly enough or retentively, nor at how many people read *The Reader's Digest* or Kierkegaard. I would voice—seriously—my conviction that it is better, on any given subject, to read two books than one.

The Age of "How To . . ."

The German novelist Hermann Hesse in *Glasperlenspiel* (oddly enough, translated into English as *Magister Ludi)*, a Utopian novel of the future, satirically describes the present time as an "age of *feuilletons*"—ephemeral pamphlets whose author typically is a cynical reporter making the best case he can for the side that butters his bread. A satirist has a professional obligation to exaggerate, but scrutiny of almost any issue of the book-trade periodical, *Publishers' Weekly,* will turn up a plethora of authorized biographies, inside-story now-it-can-be-tolds, and computer-constructed, audience-surveyed, predigested successes.

Another, more familiar way to describe our age is in terms of the how-to-do-it books. It goes beyond publishing. A look at evening college catalogues, including our own, will reveal occasional succumbings to the temptation to name courses in this way too: "How to Look at Zen Buddhism," "How to Apply Creative Thinking to Your Everyday Affairs," "How to Read Better and Faster." If you have taken one or two introductory courses in the social sciences, you can speculate on the way in which the servomechanical revolution is turning us all into latter-day William Morrises with little kits, available at the hobby shops, for making our own tie clips, doublecrostics, mechanical brains, and rosaries.

Presumably it is the *feuilletons* that make some of our cautious readers write increasingly specialized books about reading. And the age of the "How to . . ." supplies the titles for those books. The first, long step in reading specialization was taken by Mortimer Adler when he wrote his *How to Read a Book*. Charles Lee went him one better with *How to Read a Page*. Probably it is only an apocryphal story that Dr. Flesch's publisher wanted to call *Why Johnny Can't Read* by the ultimate title: *How to Pronounce a Word*.

All three of these books contain useful information, directions that help under the right specialized conditions. I am struck, however, by the idea that they all try to do the same thing: teach people—deluged with advertising and propaganda that "prove" almost anything, swamped in partisan *feuilletons* that leave one persuaded that the truth is what one has read most recently—how they can determine the truth about any matter with which they are concerned. So Dr. Adler and Mr. Lee in their books, other writers in articles, textbooks, and guides to the Great Books, as well as teachers in classes, worry about providing accurate instructions on how to read carefully enough not to be misled by ignorance, ambiguity, or malevolence.

The Slippery Truth

It is true, of course, that close reading may turn up significant clues to an obscure meaning. A word used in an unusual or obsolete sense, for example, may mislead me if I am not careful. When George III described a building as an "awful artificial spectacle," he meant that he liked it. When Coleridge in "Kubla Khan" wrote "as if this earth in fast thick pants were breathing" he was not personifying the turning globe and visualizing it dressed in a tight leotard.

It is also true that an analytical reading of a text may reveal reasons to be doubtful of the author's authority or honest intentions. If the author doth protest too much that only he is in step with the truth or that "the real truth of the matter is . . . ," I may be justifiably skeptical of what he says. And if he contradicts himself from time to time, if his argument lacks plausibility and does not have an inner consistency, I may certainly argue that he is biased and unreliable—or, at least, inept.

But the truth is a slippery thing. Simply because an author writes plausibly and consistently, I can no more decide that he is telling the truth than a psychiatrist can ascribe delusions of grandeur to a patient who insists that he is Eisenhower unless the doctor first checks the biographical data and the fingerprints or Bertillon measurements. Without checking with external facts, it may not be possible to determine whether a person is suffering from paranoia or is actually being persecuted. In much the same way, I may do well to check a plausible, well-argued, cogent, and consistent book against things outside itself. And so the usefulness of reading a second, third, or *n*th book, not just the first book carefully.

Three-Dimensional Reading

There are, of course, other reasons to read a second book. Many of the famous "student boners" that professors swap when the doors are locked and the lights are turned down come from the reading, however careful, of a single book. The student who on an examination paper told me that Milton had written "a long illiterate poem" had studied his textbook anthology carefully or at least faithfully. To pass lightly over his substitution of "illiterate" for "alliterative," I suppose that he confused *Paradise Lost* with *Beowulf* because he had met both poems—and statements about them—only in one place and in one light. He was trying to remember a long, flat, one-dimensional series of facts, all of which seemed unreal and confusing because he had come at them only in one direction. If he had read more extensively even at the cost of intensiveness, if he had spent the same amount of time in reading three histories of literature that he had spent in "studying" one, *Paradise Lost* and *Beowulf* would have taken on extra dimensions, would have been more real and less interchangeable.

Even in the "hard sciences" and the other realms of fact, extensive reading is desirable because of the increased reality and familiarity the facts take on as the result

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of being met again and again in different contexts. And in the humanities and the social sciences, extensive reading is virtually indispensable, because the author and the reader are dealing chiefly with matters not of fact but of informed opinion. Taste, insight, and the ability to choose and defend one's own values can come, not from the painstaking reading of a single book, but only from the reading, comparing, and weighing of the first book against a second—and a thirty-second—book.

What Book Comes Second?

Especially when reading in a subject matter where opinions rather than facts are the order of the day, it is important that the reading be extensive or that the second or third book be wisely or fortunately chosen. Opinions tentatively borrowed from a first book may be inadequately checked and unfortunately confirmed if the second and subsequent books are written from the same point of view and similar convictions.

Short of reading widely from an impartial bibliography such as those printed annually in many specialized journals—the only satisfactory way of reading about what is important to you professionally or personally—it is often possible to find a good second or third book to read by watching carefully the first book or the reviews of it. If you miss the reviews or if the book was published some time ago, go to the *Book Review Digest* to collect names of the first author's opponents. What writer does the first author disdainfully flay in his text? Who do the reviewers choose to contrast with the first author, often to his discredit? There is a lot of fun—and usefulness—in looking that way for a second book to read. And it is much safer than consulting the first book's bibliography, which all too often is carefully chosen to bolster the argument.

In the writing field, a kind of melancholy scorn surrounds the author who from a limited ability has managed to produce only one book. The trade has a phrase—"a one-book writer." Let us put a reverse twist to the line:

"Don't be a one-book reader."

* * *

LETTER TO AN AUTOMATH

DEAR JERRY,

I was very glad to receive your letter. It is always a pleasure—as well as part of my job—to try to help someone who wants advice about continuing his education. But it is a special pleasure to try to advise the son of an old friend.

What pleased me most about your letter, however, was the evidence it contained that you do not need much advice, evidence that you are, if I can use a good old eighteenth-century word, an automath. In a very real sense most of us are automaths or *self-taught persons*. We can be tossed into the water, but we have to teach ourselves to swim. The main thing that a formal educational situation provides, in college or in graduate school or in an adult school like the Division of General Education, is a context in which it is easier for you to teach yourself and an atmosphere in which you are more likely to do so. Whether you come back to school or not, in the long run you can learn what you want to—no more, no less.

You may think that I miss the point of your letter. You are worried about your "education," you tell me; there are so many things that you don't "know." Who are Orff, Mondrian, Vico, Hobbes, Spengler, and a hundred others whose names you've run across lately? What are *existentialism, constructivism, Pali, group dynamics, general field theory,* and a hundred other terms you've heard glibly used. "As everyone knows, the doctrine of transubstantiation has . . ." Not, you hasten to add, that you are worried about your job. You have a good job, one that you like and can do well. You are just worried about your *education,* about all the things that you don't know.

And so, you ask me, how do you go about getting a "real education." You have read pretty widely and studied a bit here and there, "but what about systematic study?" Should you enroll in an evening college to get yourself a "liberal education" or a "general education"?

Some people use the terms interchangeably and others make a distinction between them. If you separate "liberal" and "general" education, you may talk about the former as the "liberating and liberalizing influence" of the study of philosophy, history, literature, and the arts, the "cultural tradition of the West." "General education" you may distinguish as "concentrating not on the empty values of an outmoded aristocratic tradition, but on the basic knowledge necessary for all men regardless of station or occupation." Either of these positions is easily overstated and exaggerated. What should be of concern to you is that both, when they are fairly and moderately stated, are talking about the kind of education you want and are looking for.

In looking for a liberal *and* general education, you do want to increase your familiarity with the cultural tradition by the study of philosophy, history, literature, art, music, the social and the natural sciences. You want to learn more about the world, about man, and about society. But do not suppose, Jerry, that this means there is a single course or program of study that is the right way and the only way for you or anyone else to "become liberally educated." If there were, you would not be confronted by so many arguments about what a liberal education is and by so many different colleges with different curricula.

First of all "liberally educated" is not something you "become." A liberal education has or should have a continuing and continually changing goal toward which you study, broadening your interests at times, intensifying them at others; it is not something you "get." It is a process.

As long ago as 1899, according to an article in this summer's *Bulletin of the American Association of University Professors,* Arthur Hadley, president of Yale University, spoke about how a liberal education could not "cover" everything. "If we had widened the college curriculum," he said in his inaugural address, "enough to correspond to the increased range of human interest, the time of university education would have lengthened itself by ten to fifteen years."

Things have happened in the fifty-seven years since President Hadley's speech, too. History has by no means stood still. The Spanish American and Boer Wars which loomed in his mind as he spoke have largely been forgotten in the course of two great world wars that have changed the face of the earth: new countries, new economic and political relations, two attempts at world government. And there have been perhaps still greater changes in the humanities, the social sciences, and the natural sciences. New inventions, developments, and discoveries; logical positivism, existentialism, and other new movements in philosophy; new theories, trends, figures in literature and the other arts; the deciphering of newly found cuneiform inscriptions and the rewriting of ancient history; new theories of history; new cosmological theories; new economic systems; new practical devices like the airplane and the rocket, radio and television, the vacuum tube and the transistor, the atomic bomb and the atomic power plant, and their social implications; "new sciences" or fields of specialization like nuclear physics, communications, social psychology; the work and ideas of Freud, Jung, Adler, Horney, Einstein, Maxwell, Heisenberg, Joyce, Mann, Gide, Eliot, Schönberg, Matisse, Picasso, Mondrian, Kandinsky, Dewey, Whitehead, Russell, Korzybski, Spengler, Toynbee and thousands of others.

However far extended, no curriculum could be complete, could, as college catalogues sometimes naïvely claim, "cover the fields of human knowledge." As many courses in the Division of General Education and in other schools show, it is possible to develop "survey" or "general" or "orientation" or "introductory" courses to introduce you to a field of study, a branch of knowledge, a period of history, a genre of literature or art. These courses (or your independent study and reading) aim at broadening you, "filling in the gaps," by introducing you to new subjects and new ideas. Still others aim at deepening you by helping you carry further the study and interests you have already begun.

And all of this will be your liberal or general education—or rather a continuing and beginning of it. If I can impress one thing upon you by this letter, which already grows too long, I hope that it can be the importance of your learning to walk the tightrope between overconfidence and underconfidence about your education and your educability. Overconfidence can lead you to forget a book because you have read it, to neglect a subject because you "have had it," and permanently interrupt your education. Underconfidence can lead to your being taken in and disillusioned by promises to give you culture, friends, Spanish, public speaking, and a real up-to-date education in easy, painless installments. I hope instead that you will not be so confident that you will ignore advisers who want to help you, *but* that you will be confident enough to pay us little heed when you think us wrong.

If I may risk a second point or sermon in closing, I hope also, Jerry, that you will in pursuing your education escape one of the popular heresies about education. In spite of the emphasis that quiz programs put upon the knowing of isolated facts and absurd details, the proper business of education is not the transmission of facts from the professor's notebook to yours. We live in a fact-minded age and, listening to our radio and television quizzes, we may all end, like Autolycus, snappers-up of unconsidered trifles. Perhaps the reference illustrates my point; I had fun writing it and if you have read the same play, you had fun in reading my remark about Autolycus. But "getting it" or "not getting it" is not the test of an educated man—though he ought at least to know how to go about getting it. The point is that an education has a much wider aim than acquiring knowledge, if by knowledge one means facts. It aims rather at wisdom, insight, and understanding. "Its business," says Professor Niblett of Leeds University in a new book, *Education—The Lost Dimension*, "is to help men actually to feel, to think, and to act, not merely to teach them *what* to feel, *what* to think, and *when* to act."

Sincerely,

RUSSELL F. W. SMITH

HOW TO USE A TEACHER

By **MILTON R. STERN**

Mr. Stern is Assistant to the Dean in the Division of General Education, and the editor of the Pleasures in Learning *series.*

If the title of this article seems oddly utilitarian, it was so intended. Ours is an age where "how to" is a dominant theme. But more than that, an adult student, sitting in a classroom, has a right to some guidance in how to "use" the person most important to him. After all, you get instructions even with a washing machine.

When you enroll in a class, of course, there is an assumption that you want to get something out of it. It isn't always clear what that is—or how you get it—even to the people who enroll. Yet it would be a waste of money to let it go at that. While the sociologists speak glibly of the way we "consume" education these days, it's just not the same thing as buying an appliance. Having "bought" a course, you have bought something that does not function the same way a washing machine does. You have acquired a human relationship, one of varying elements, requiring instructions to you about behavior and attitude rather than about buttons to be pushed.

Put it this way. If you were to buy a forty-volume set of Shakespeare from a book club and then didn't read them—just used the volumes as furniture—you would be doing the same sort of thing as if you were to enroll in a class, having paid a fair price too—and then didn't listen.

Listen.

Listen. This seems to be an operative word. It is not the only one. But it is the starting point of the relationship between teacher and a class of students. The heart of your education is the interchange between you and your teacher. And that begins as it did when you were a child—by your paying attention to what teacher says.

To be sure, the adult, particularly one who is a parent, may find this a bit difficult at first. He may tend to classify teachers as a group of benign baby sitters and, hence, not quite worthy of being paid attention to by mature people. Such cultural conditioning usually vanishes in the classroom if the student isn't hagridden by stereotypes.

On the other hand, the memory of childhood may perpetuate the feeling of awe for teachers as authorities—a natural, pleasant, and sensible attitude for children. If they have that feeling, adults should modify it somewhat. Although the third-grade teacher is a complete model for the child, the adult more sensibly pays attention to the limited area of competence and excellence the professor professes. And professor should be kept in line if he presumes beyond that point. All of us are laymen at most things. Put the teacher of philosophy in a kayak on Hudson's Bay, and his philosophy will not be as helpful as a spear.

The attitude the adult student may most profitably cultivate toward learning is that of the best teachers themselves—open and receptive. The story is told of the first lecture in an advanced class in physics at M.I.T. The lecturer had finished with a reference to the textbook for the course and asked whether anyone in the group was familiar with it. A hand went up and a voice came from the back of the hall, "I am. I wrote it."

Such an attitude of professional humility should be emulated. At the same time it should be balanced in the opposite direction by a degree of insistent demand upon the instructor. Summing up, your attitude should be appropriate to the personality of the teacher and the nature of the subject.

For example, recognize a difference between introductory and advanced classes. Generally, in basic subject matter, where you as student know very little, often even of the vocabulary of the subject, you would do well to be a blotter, absorbing information and skills. By and large, suspend for a while the use of your critical abilities.

One of the disappointments which afflict students in beginning classes is that they just can't, for example, get to be natural-born draftsmen in three or four hours. Exaggerated? Perhaps, but carry the point over to the humanities, to literature, or history, and you will see how pertinent it is there as well. You have a right to expect that the imaginative teacher will give significant insights to students even in the first lecture of a survey series—and to talk their language. But gaining real sophistication in a field depends upon your willingness to learn a professional language—the subject matter.

As for classes in which skills are to be learned—they simply are not painless. Drudgery is involved—a pleasant tedium of learning, if you are willing to accept the disciplines in the interest of ultimate power, but impossible otherwise. A lady of my acquaintance, a student last summer in a beginners' class in painting, told me the other day how aware she was of technical deficiencies in a still life she had done at the end of the six-week summer course. "It was because I was too impatient," she said, "because I wanted to show how brilliant I was. I understood quickly the points my teacher was making, but I forgot that my hand—literally my hand—needed practice. It just wasn't enough for me to be glib about the principles in conversation."

So much for an attitude usually appropriate to beginning courses. In an advanced course, on the other hand, an "I'm from Missouri" approach may be more helpful. While you're not out to teach teacher, here you must *actively* help him teach you. In general, passive receptivity will not be enough. Scepticism, questioning—all presuming a basis of knowledge on the student's part—such is the attitude to be cultivated.

Beyond such points growing out of subject matter lies the issue of the teacher's personality as expressed in the classroom. Is he a lecturer primarily—overwhelming you, you complain, with facts and more facts? Before you criticize, make sure that giving the facts isn't the most important job for him to do. It may be that he is not a pedant but that you—with all respect—are undisciplined. Does he go too fast? Or could it be that you haven't done your homework? (Many times, for instance, students in language classes in particular feel the pressure of speed in instruction. But, in fact, they expect too much too soon and without tears. *Hélas, ce n'est pas possible.* A single absence from a language class requires extensive make-up work.)

There are all sorts of objections to an instructor's methods. He tells too many stories—if not too much, he doesn't lecture enough—and so on. Sometimes a professor has a bad day, and sometimes he will not be a good teacher. But not often. More usually, complaints represent a lack of compatibility of personality in the human equation between teacher and student—now no longer the simple matter of the "strict" or "easy" teacher of earlier years.

An adult student should not shy away from frank talks with teachers about these matters. Usually they have reasons for what they do. True enough, their methods of instruction are and, indeed, should be, part and parcel of their whole outlook and personality. But anyone who has in his mind consented to *teach* has embarked upon an enterprise which can only be deemed successful if *you* as a student are satisfied. You will find most teachers of adults flexible and receptive to criticism, aware beforehand of the problems you wish to raise.

Certainly a teacher should be "interesting." If a teacher doesn't have a bit of the actor in him, he—or you—won't stay the course. But the analogy should not be made too close. You are a student, not a member of an audience. The interrelationship between you and your teacher is basically one in which you are *not* entitled to be entertained. The excitement of learning is not in laughter or in the tragic catharsis described by Aristotle; education has its own quality and purpose, the increase of capability to deal with life. A teacher is a special person, not to be confused with baby sitter, repairman, psychoanalyst, or friend. If used properly, he will last a long time.

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LEISURE TO LEARN

By MILTON R. STERN

The idea of adult education—of education for people past "school age"—is booming these days because we have leisure time. Now that politicians rather than science fictioneers speak almost glibly of automation and the four-day week, it is not unexpected that more attention gets paid to study programs for adults.

Leisure, of course, is the key to the civilization of man. Philosophy, music, and art do not seem to flourish among people who work fourteen hours a day. But American life has changed. For the first time training for leisure on a wholesale scale is necessary.

Paradoxically enough, leisure has become a problem—not of how to get it, but of what to do with it. "I'm bored," says the four-year-old, and these days the forty-year-old has time enough to be bored too. Except for the Court of St. James and similar establishments, this was not the case two centuries ago . . . or twenty centuries ago.

A background fact of utmost significance is that throughout history human beings have lived in work-oriented societies. The lotus-eaters have always before now inhabited mythical kingdoms far on the golden coasts of distant seas. It was, after all, less than sixty years ago that the Leisure Class (capital L, capital C) was enough in evidence to have a theory, however disparaging, advanced about its way of life.

In 1957 leisure is clearly the possession however troubled, of an immensely broader group of the population.

These are commonplace observations, familiar enough to us all, but they are a necessary prelude to the consideration mentioned above—of how to fill leisure time. How odd that we should be troubled by the prospect!

Or is it?

After all, the puritanical idea that toil, unending and unremitting, offers the clear road to heaven does not prepare us for the world of relative ease now familiar to us. And, let us ponder the fact that this very ease was achieved by energetic work.

It is not surprising that some people feel guilty about it all—that they look over their shoulders to make sure that some unseen critic isn't going to take them to task for being lazy. "If I have so much free time, I must be lazy."

Our intellectual grasp is firm, but most of us cannot conquer reactions that are so deeply a part of our immediate past, and few of us are prepared to take advantage of the new freedom. Conditioned to *work*—and even to regard physical exertion as the sole measure of work—no wonder we are troubled by these visions of ease become reality. At one moment we grasp our problem as "the challenge of leisure," meaning that we have an obligation not to get bored. In the next the solemn thought intrudes that we must also engage in "worth-while activities."

I'd like to make a case for self-exploration in the whole field of leisure. "Do it yourself" should apply, first of all, to unhurried thinking, to leisurely contemplation, of what to do with your own time.

Some years ago, in his significant book, *The Lonely Crowd*, David Riesman said that he thought leisure represented a new frontier for Americans. If it does, then each of us has an opportunity to be a discoverer of a new world for himself, to be a pioneer. Despite varied training and conditioning, our problem is common. Perhaps we may symbolize it by the way in which we respond to the bromide—"the constructive use of leisure."

This is a cant phrase, and it instantly makes people impatient or rebellious. We respond with the same dutifulness that we do to "serious" literature or "educational" television. The trouble is that too often our response has been proved accurate. What the enthusiastic speaker has called "constructive" we think of as just plain dull. Sometimes his label preconditions us, too, because we tend to think it means work, not "fun." And if there is one thing sure about what we expect of leisure, however often we are defeated, it is *fun*.

For example, in the past few years, whether by chance or design, Shakespeare has been presented as pleasurable rather than as heavily cultural and "worth-while." The happy result has been that Shakespeare is performed more often to larger audiences who enjoy, possibly even learn from, his plays. No irrelevant idea of "constructive use" of their time has been interposed between them and the performance.

We can, however, salvage some use from the sturdy, though tired, phrase. It is the simple moral: *live your own life to the full*. Leisure is a deeply personal possession. It may be used alone or in company, but the less compulsion (including the noise of modern commercialism), the more leisurely the activity. Life has changed in the past hundred years, and many millions of people can now give an optimistic answer to the questions so gloomily put by Matthew Arnold in the period of the twelve and fourteen-hour workday of the nineteenth century:

What Shelter to grow ripe is ours?
What Leisure to grow Wise?

We should take a long look at our stereotypes of work and leisure. We face a new period in history in which the concept of work as we have known it will undergo changes of tremendous import. If the word survives, it will mean in 2057 something quite different from what it has meant to man for thousands of years. Equally, it seems clear that *leisure*—regarded now as, in effect, released time from work—will undergo refinement as a concept. As each of us starts to ponder these meanings, we may feel that sense of mastery of the environment which is the hallmark of the civilized man.

* * *

ORIGINAL THINKING IN EVERYDAY LIFE

By MILTON R. STERN

For many of us, thinking is a special event. A THINKER is one who considers only large issues and intellectual concepts and does not waste time on "less important" problems. On a more familiar level, we often see people who save their minds for Plato or the Sadler's Wells Ballet but who unquestioningly apply the newest fad or the nearest stereotype to the problems of marriage and parenthood. Original thinking does not have to be limited to a small group of "deep" subjects. It can greatly enrich and broaden day-to-day experiences in living.

What are some of the characteristics of original thinking?

One quality seems to be fairly common among people we regard as great thinkers. "Simplicity," "child-like innocence," and so on—these are some of the words used to describe them. Popular biographies usually regard this naïveté as an eccentricity of genius. But let us be less banal; let us regard simplicity as a fundamental emotional attribute of original thinking.

After all, probably the best and hardest thinking done by human beings is done by those with the freshest minds—small children. Children have a purposeful curiosity. They want to find out where they belong in the world and what they are themselves as human beings. The child asks, "Why?"—sometimes to the limit of his parents' patience. And the continuation of that childlike ability in ourselvos can enable us to arrive at original insights in the same way that the great thinkers have done.

It is by no means easy to maintain such an attitude as an adult. Authoritative prohibitions have made us cease to question many areas of our lives. Often the *habit* of curiosity itself is eroded and worn away in the mind. And so by the time we reach the ripe old age of 20, most of us have stopped challenging accepted customs, traditions, and the circumstances of our individual lives. In the history of the race, organized humanity has given little encouragement to challenging or curious people. And yet our religions, our science, and the very continuance of the species have largely depended upon our ability to respond to new perils and to new problems with new ideas and new solutions.

Ours, more than most, is alleged to be an age of transition. In such a period, individuals must recover the questing mind—the ability to discover original solutions not only for broad community and world problems but for intimate personal problems. There is no necessity to abandon traditional or popular ways of behavior, but on the other hand, why should we follow them? Traditions were developed once upon a time to meet real conditions then prevailing, and popular ideas may have sound sense in them. But we must ask to what extent they are useful for us and to what extent they are not.

The ability to criticize is the essence of original thinking—the critical ability we had as children until we lost the wish, the desire, the blessing of asking, "Why?"

While we may adopt the appropriate critical mode from our children, let us not discard our adult status entirely. For if we have lost the youthful zest for discovery, we have, on the other hand, *experience* to draw upon which children do not have. Children ask questions in a persistent but scattered fashion. Adult experience, if we take advantage of it, helps us to focus our queries on essentials.

One essential is *our own* attitude to any given situation. A key question is "How do I really feel?"—not "How do people expect me to feel?" or "How do I want to feel?" We need to look at the facts, but the "facts" include our own reactions to events. We have a tendency to consult everybody's opinion but our own, fearing that lack of orthodoxy may cause trouble for us. It may; but, conversely, trying to make yourself believe something contrary to your own understanding makes difficulties of another sort—difficulties that can be shelved permanently only by not thinking or feeling at all. And one can't quite do that. The mind persists in its nonconformity.

However, the nonconforming mind, a prerequisite to originality, must not be confused with an undisciplined mind. Only orderly interpretations of events produce fruitful conclusions. What, then—in addition to awareness of one's own feelings—are a few guideposts?

For one thing, do not take authority for granted. A man's point of view is no more authoritative than the combination of objective observation, bias, and vested interest that has formed it. Ask who the authority is, what he represents, and how he has arrived at his point of view.

Do not rebel against convention merely because it is conventional. Unthinking nonconformity is, if anything, more depressing than unthinking conformity.

Examine the connections between events. Ask what will result from a given action; what caused it? The isolated fact is fine on a television quiz show, but it rarely answers any real-life questions.

Budget time for everything else, but *do not* set aside ten minutes or ten hours for "original thinking." Originality is an attitude to cultivate, not something you can get done in any fixed period. Originality may be sober or it may be bubbling and effervescent in its expression, but it will be expressed in everything you do and say. At the same time, the pursuit of ideas in an organized fashion does usually require meditation. Find out for yourself whether you think best with a pencil at a desk in a library, or riding the subways, in the shower in the morning, playing tennis, or on long walks. When you have discovered the situations which stimulate creative thinking for you, make time for them.

There is no such thing as "useless" thinking. Originality is not confined to problems of technical efficiency or social usefulness. It is the realm of the lotus-eating daydreamer quite as much as of the physicist, parent, or statesman. Above all, original thinking is personal. Your ideas may be as misunderstood as those of Galileo or Freud, but original thinking has your name to it. It represents personal achievement and personal power.

* * *

GEORGE WASHINGTON'S HORSE

By PATRICK J. SULLIVAN

Mr. Sullivan has been a Division student specializing in writing courses. He is now Public Relations Director of the General Dynamics Corporation.

George Bernard Shaw (whom I can't imagine ever having been young himself) is supposed to have said that youth is too valuable to be wasted upon the young. And thus did the bearded gentleman come within an ace of discovering Sullivan's Law of Limited Youthful Appreciation of Opportunity, or: "*Education* is too valuable to be wasted upon the young."

When I contemplate my own wasted youth, I confess I'm not altogether overcome with regret. There are books I've only discovered lately that would have been permanently lost to me for pleasure or profit if I had had to read them because of the exigencies of the Sophomore Reading List. Indeed, there are many books we cannot enjoy and ideas we cannot understand until we have arrived at the middle years.

When you consider how much of a young man's attention is necessarily directed toward such important subjects as meeting girls, dominating girls, getting money to

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impress girls, and procuring the use of automobiles for taking girls for rides, it's small wonder that there is time left over now in the expanding middle years for less frenetic intellectual activities.

Before I get myself into too much trouble with my academic betters, let me disclaim the role of an elderly delinquent throwing rocks at college windows. I merely want to emphasize that what I learned in those early years cannot be compared to what I've learned lately. "Much have I travelled in the realms of gold . . ." not then, but now—today and next year.

I cannot complain about what I didn't learn in college. As I think about it now, it was appropriate enough to my immaturity. I know that college life has changed in the past two or three decades. The typical collegian of today is denominated "serious" by his mentors. If there seems to be a growing unease about this phenomenon, I share the emotion. Four years of college seem to have become a joyless grind for many youngsters. I think that this is because these four years have become so intensely "practical." When I was in college, commercialized football was an object of virtuous scorn on the part of various protectors of the public morality. These days, might not one say that college education *entire* has become commercialized?

Scott Fitzgerald once quoted somebody as saying, "Tighten up your belt, baby, let's get going. To any Pole." This attitude seems more appropriate for college boys than the sensible preparation for a normal life that today's undergraduates pursue. They are so sensible that one wonders if the healthful pangs of remorse will ever help them to return to the campus.

This brings me full swing back to plumper people—my own generation and my own later continuing education. After all, the "pleasures of learning" grow out of an attitude. And I don't mind claiming the qualities of curiosity and eagerness for my generation. To this natural predilection add the clearer perspective that comes when you get past the "best years of your life" and discover that there are more good years to come. Then, of a sudden, richer meanings flash from the pages of books read, from the scenes of plays seen. A new sense of leisure takes you comfortably by the hand, and you find that you have time for a multitude of searches into all sorts of interests.

This, at least, is what has happened to me in the past few years. I found—oh, about seven years ago—that I needed a particular kind of information for a particular job I wanted. I found that I could get what I wanted in university courses for adults. So I went back to school—and found out other things in the process. I had started on an endless and exciting quest that I suppose won't ever stop. I have rediscovered literature and history and geography—and discovered art.

On that quest I found some pleasant byways that had purely personal interest for me. No matter how often I steer the conversation that way, I can't get any of my sons to ask me where John Milton was born (Bread Street, London); or what inhabitants of Manchester or Liverpool or Peiping (Peking) are called (*Mancunians, Liverpudlians,* and *Pekinese,* respectively). Save for the edification of an occasional late-shift bartender, I can think of no earthly use in knowing the name of George Washington's horse at the Battle of Harlem Heights (it was Stanley). But I know it now and it makes me happy.

These scattered marzipans of piquant information are incidental to the main quest, of course, but they're fun. Just so long as they are enjoyed and don't become the touted "wisdom" of a television quizee, they have a charm of their own. At least they have for me. They are a part of a continuing adventure.

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Penn. Spring '65 [redacted]

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RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY
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Major Trends in Higher Adult Education

CYRIL O. HOULE

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center for the study of liberal education for adults
4819 greenwood avenue · chicago 15, illinois

an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults.

THE CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS was established as the result of a grant from the Fund for Adult Education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults. The official purpose of the Center is to "provide aid and leadership to the forces that can develop the evening college and extension movement into a more effective instrument for the liberal education of adults." Communications may be addressed to the Director, 4819 Greenwood Avenue, Chicago 15, Illinois.

Publications of the Center are listed on the back covers, with information as to how they may be obtained.

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RESOURCES FOR EDUCATORS OF ADULTS
SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

INTRODUCTION

During the summer of 1958, the staff of the Center made a very comprehensive review of its program and future directions. Working papers prepared by the staff, and examined and revised by them during a course of energetic discussions, were submitted to the Center's board for approval, and will be published in the Review of 1958.

In addition to preparing these working papers, we asked Mr. Houle to spend some time thinking about future directions in the field of higher adult education—more specifically, to consider trends among universities and colleges which were likely to have an impact on adult education. The result of his thinking, based on his wide experience in and knowledge of the field, composed another essay for the meetings referred to above. The value of Mr. Houle's document for our own internal planning convinced us that it should be made generally available to the field.

We emphasize that this paper was prepared primarily for our staff, and not for general publication. We are in no way apoligizing for either the form or the content of Mr. Houle's presentation; we feel that it stands on its own as an insightful document. But in securing agreement to publish it, we did accede to Mr. Houle's request that the circumstances of its preparation be made known.

We are convinced that Mr. Houle's remarks will be of great value not only to people in the field of higher adult education, but also to the many institutions who are making their plans for the future.

A. A. Liveright, Director
The Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

MAJOR TRENDS IN AMERICAN HIGHER EDUCATION

Surveying higher adult education in the United States is like studying, in rather murky light, a mural by Diego Rivera. If there is a central theme at all, it must be found by examining each separate section of an incredibly crowded canvas in which groups of figures are clustered together in apparent abandon and disarray, and with an utter disregard of perspective. Only very slowly, if at all, does the focal idea and the major scheme of organization emerge. If all of the canvas can be only dimly seen and part of it is in darkness, the mind has great difficulty in fitting together the visible pieces so that they make a coherent whole. In such a circumstance, the pattern the beholder sees may be wholly within his mind and not evident to anybody else.

This report is prepared by one who has looked long at this particular mural and who has already written perhaps too much about it. It is directed to those who are themselves expert in its analysis and who have built patterns in their own minds. In these circumstances, I shall make no effort to be comprehensive but instead will look—now here, now there—at the whole panorama, examining large sections or tiny segments as they catch the eye and appear to be significant.

At this point, I must abandon my simile. What we are examining is not a static but a changing picture, and one which we can ourselves influence. I want to look backward just enough to understand the present and, if I can, forward to see how the future may be made better.

Three major changes have occurred in American higher education in the past hundred years. It has become much more secular. Its curriculum has become much more complex. Its student body is far larger. The first two of these trends are far advanced and have already had their major influence on higher adult education; they will be dealt with only briefly here. The third is in mid-course and requires fuller treatment.

In their early days, the American colleges were dominated by religious influences. Today, while there are still many institutions supported by church groups, most students are enrolled in public or in non-church-related private institutions. Even the religious institutions seldom set doctrinal tests for entrance and their programs are substantially the same as those of secular institutions. So far as higher adult education is concerned, religion does play a minor part. The Catholic evening schools tend to attract Catholic students, and some church-related institutions—for example, Brigham Young University—concentrate their programs in some measure on the needs of the members of their denominations. For the most part, however, higher adult education is strongly secular.

The curriculum of institutions of higher learning has proliferated with great rapidity. As recently as fifty years ago, the colleges still held the center of the stage. Today the universities do. Even the most austerely dedicated liberal arts college of to-day would seem incredibly complex to the faculty of a hundred years ago.[1] The standard curriculum of the past has been forever destroyed by the increase in offerings and the establishment of the elective system. There has been a countertrend toward the establishment of a basic curriculum in such institutions as Chicago, Michigan State, and Florida, but the overwhelming drift has been in the other direction.

The importance of this diversification so far as adult education is concerned is so great and so obvious that it need only be mentioned. As the offering on the campus has been broadened it has touched American life at more and more points and has provided the basis for the extension of more courses for mature people. As more and more professions have been identified with universities,[2] there has been a greater tendency for those in the field who have not had university training to want it. As subject matter has deepened, those who earlier had only elementary training began to want more advanced study. The complexity of the university curriculum will continue to increase—and so will the complexity of higher adult education.

The third major trend in American higher education is the rapid increase in the number of young people who go to college. This trend has been running for some time; in the period from 1870 to 1940, student enrollments in higher education increased thirty-fold, while the population increased only three-fold. But the acceleration is now about to increase sharply. One reason is the high birth rate. It began to rise soon after 1940, so that the first large wave of young people is now reaching college age. More than that, the percentage of young people who go to college is increasing, a trend which, in the long run, is probably even more significant than the rising birth rate, so far as large college enrollments are concerned.

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[1] In 1851-52, Princeton had a total faculty, including the president, of 13 men who taught 41 courses in a single curriculum. A hundred years later, it had 421 faculty members offering 517 courses. In 1859, the University of Michigan had 17 faculty members and 48 courses. In 1953, it had 570 faculty members and 1,116 courses. Malcolm S. Maclean and Dan W. Dodson, "Educational Needs Emerging from the Changing Demands of Society," 55th Yearbook, N.S.S.E., 1956, p. 13.

[2] "It was not necessary in the early nineteenth century to go to college to become a doctor, lawyer, or even a teacher, much less a successful politician or businessman; and up to about 1850 the country's entire supply of engineers came from two technical institutions." Richard Hofstadter and C. DeWitt Hardy, The Development and Scope of Higher Education in the United States, New York, Columbia University Press, 1952, p. 21.

The increased number of students is being cared for in a number of ways.

1. New institutions of higher learning are being created. In 1940, the U.S. Office of Education listed 1,756 accredited institutions. In 1955, it listed 1,886.[3] The actual growth is larger than these figures indicate since it usually takes a period of years for new institutions to become accredited.

2. Existing institutions are establishing branches. Pennsylvania State University, Purdue, and the University of Wisconsin are all excellent examples of this trend. Often these branches include only lower divisional work, but this fact is not always true. The University of Illinois, for example, plans a full-scale university branch in Chicago, and The University of Michigan plans an upper-divisional college in a suburb of Detroit.

3. Small institutions are becoming large ones. The normal school of 1910 became a teachers' college by 1930 and a state college by 1950; today it is becoming a university—at least so far as legislative fiat can make it one! The land-grant colleges have had a spectacular rise in enrollment. This trend will almost certainly continue. Many local community colleges will become four-year institutions, as will the branches of state universities. Colleges which now offer the bachelor's degree in a few fields will enlarge the scope of their curricula and push upward to do graduate work. The history of U. C. L. A. will be repeated, at least in miniature, in hundreds of different places.

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[3] Education Directory 1956-57, Part 3, "Higher Education." U.S. Office of Education, p. 9.

The rise in undergraduate enrollments will have a profound effect on higher adult education. In some few places the number of adult students will probably decline as institutions decide to allocate their limited resources to the pressing demands of their full-time students. For the most part, however, such a decision would run against all present trends of institutional growth.

There are several very good reasons why the rise in campus enrollments will be paralleled by a rise in adult enrollments. The most fundamental cause is that, as a college education and advanced degrees become more widely accepted as essential for the young, they will be desired by an increasing number of adults. ② Closely allied to this point is the fact that the formally educated person is the one who participates in adult educational activities; as one level of education increases, so will the other. ③ More than that, as institutions become more readily available geographically and as their curricula increase, they will come within the orbit of many who will take advantage of the opportunities offered them. ④ Finally, institutions of higher learning will want to undertake more adult education because they feel the need to serve the people of their constituencies, because their day-time facilities cannot take care of the load of service they wish to perform, and because adult education is so excellent for public relations, promotion, increased income, and the spread of fixed costs over a larger volume of service.

There will be many short-run problems, which will cause real and acute difficulties. The next ten years will contain many sharp setbacks for higher adult education. But these difficulties will gradually pass away, as new buildings are built, as university leaders become less preoccupied with undergraduate enrollments and, most significant of all, as new sources of teaching talent are discovered.

There is, to be sure, no single solution to the problem of securing adequate resources of faculty. Nor is this problem a new one. In 1890, the president of the University of Wisconsin announced that extension would not work in America because, unlike Great Britain, "the teaching talent of our university is already overtaxed . . . we have no unemployed talent."[4] But the pioneers of extension were resourceful and so are their modern counterparts. Many new techniques are being tried on university campuses which might be useful with adults: television, apprentice teachers assisting a master teacher, greater reliance on independent study, and the re-organization of instruction so that mass techniques and individualized approaches are effectively combined. Higher adult education also has the great resource of trained talent in the community which may be engaged part-time and which is free to accept teaching assignments at precisely the hours when it is needed. Some of the people in this category will fail at the exacting task of teaching mature minds, but some will succeed; and gradually over the years a cadre of faculty may be built up.

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[4] Quoted in: J. M. R. Owens "Fifteen Lean Years," Rewley House Papers, Vol. III, No. V, 1956-57, p. 15.

It is useful to remember, also, that the present shortage of faculty members will soon turn into a surplus. Within ten years, the young men and women who are now entering college will begin to make their presence felt. At the moment the trends are all in the direction of the enhancement of prestige for those in academic employment: salaries are rising, social prestige is increasing, and numerous special stimulative devices (such as government loans and foundation-financed fellowships) are being put into effect to assure a continuing supply of highly trained people. As the number, and perhaps the percentage, increases, the new flood of academic men and women will want to have the opportunity to teach. A large number of our present faculty members started their career with extension or evening college teaching. There is no reason why this practice will not continue and, perhaps, increase.

One somber note must be struck—and it will be referred to again and again in this report. As the hordes of students flood into the colleges, the caliber of teaching will tend to decline. Some institutions will maintain or increase their standards, but the general level will almost certainly become lower. The difference between Harvard and West Wallamazoo State University will become greater and greater, and West Wallamazoo will be nearer the median than will Harvard.

In at least some institutions, the offerings of the evening colleges and the extension divisions tend to have lower standards than do their campus counterparts, a point which will also be dwelled upon later. This trend may continue, and there is at least one good reason why it will. As the desire for a college education spreads among the population, there will be more and more people of marginal ability who cannot make the grade in the day colleges even though their standards decline. These young people will be forced to leave the campus, but they will then get jobs and begin to besiege the evening colleges. It will require more resoluteness than some deans possess to keep them out.]

While for the most part the colleges and universities are welcoming their increases in enrollment—despite cries of alarm beamed at the legislature and at donors—some institutions are taking advantage of the pressure to raise their standards of admission and the level of their work. The faculty of one great university has recently decided that all entering students must be able to read and write, although it generously allowed a suitably delay in the effective date of the policy in order that high schools might be able to meet these exacting requirements. A number of other public institutions which formerly felt that political pressure required that they accept all high school graduates have now stiffened their entrance requirements and discovered, to their surprise, that by doing so they have won almost universal approbation. Is there a lesson here for higher adult education? Would the abandonment of those parts of its program which are least easily defended in an institution of higher learning mean that the stature of the whole endeavor would be enhanced in the eyes of the public? I do not know the answers to these questions, but I am reasonably sure that some deans and directors of university adult education will follow the example of their campus colleagues and elevate the calibre of their work.

The proliferation of institutions may have a certain "layering" effect on higher education. Young people will tend to go to colleges near at home particularly as the costs of higher education rise. The larger universities will move more and more into upper divisional, professional, and graduate studies. These kinds of changes are certain to be of great significance to higher adult education for they will determine who will offer what forms of learning. The institutional motivation for sponsoring higher adult education may also shift somewhat. One of the most distinguished university presidents in the country recently remarked that, as the community colleges grow, they will serve most of the lower divisional students; it is just these students who have been the closest ties between the university and the people of its state; as they turn elsewhere for education, the university must build new points of contact and lines of relationship; and adult education must become the major instrument by which they are built.

Many of the new institutions will include adult education service from their very beginning and, in this way avoid, the unfortunate effects of late addition and junior status. For example, in the new college which it is establishing near Pontiac, Michigan State University will begin its adult program a year before any campus students are enrolled, and the director of continuing education was one of the earliest appointments to the staff. We may hope that the result, cumulating over the years, of this policy of accepting adult education from the start as an integral part of the work of the institution will produce some changes in the present tendency to regard extension as a secondary function. Certainly the experience at The University of Chicago and of the whole community college movement would tend to support this hope.

CO-ORDINATION

The number of institutions of higher learning and their complexity have outrun society's capacity to provide effective means of administrative co-ordination. Twenty years ago, it was confidently predicted by students of higher education that the eventual pattern for state institutions would be a single board and chancellor, with certain functions—usually including extension—being administered on a state-wide basis. Georgia, California, Oregon, and North Carolina were thought to be the precursors of a pattern which all states would eventually be wise enough to adopt. Desirable though this plan might be in theory, it has not been born out in practice. There have been few statewide reorganizations of higher education in recent years and none of them have adopted the bold and sweeping changes which were earlier advocated. Even where a chancellorship was created, the incumbent tended to be a budgetary and procedural officer. Meanwhile at least some observers believe that they can discern a centrifugal tendency in some of the older integrated systems.

There will be more rather than less competition among institutions in the offering of higher adult education. In Chicago today, programs are provided by the state university, six private universities, and the public junior colleges, as well as by a number of other institutions of collegiate or semi-collegiate rank. The Chicago situation will more and more become the typical situation. In some measure competition is good, since it enlarges the field of service and tends to drive sub-standard programs out of existence. Perhaps, too, as Adam Smith argued about the entrepreneur, competition will be the means whereby the dean or director will be "led by an invisible hand to promote an end which was not part of his intention." Unfortunately, however, most observers would agree that competition often has the effect of debasing the currency of education, as each institution promises more and more for less and less. It will take very wise and prudent administrators not to get caught up in the race and be damaged by it.

VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATION

The formal integration of universities into single administrative structures has come to something of a halt, but the voluntary co-ordination of the activities of such institutions continues. We may loosely divide these voluntary associations into two groups.

The first group includes those of which entire institutions are members. Of these the most distinguished is the Association of American Universities, but other important clusterings are: the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, the Association of American Colleges, the American Association of Junior Colleges, and the Association of Urban Universities. All are national in scope. In addition to these are the regional accrediting associations and the state associations of colleges and universities.

The second group includes those associations which are built around specialized subject-matter areas; they too are national, regional, or statewide. Most of them conceive of themselves as learned societies but some of them have important accrediting functions as well.

In the first group, the large national associations—with the possible exception of the Association of American Universities—have all paid some attention to adult education, although it has never been a central focus of their interest. The regional accrediting associations have also done a small amount of work in this area, particularly in the extensive institutional surveys made by the Middle States Association. A number of the deans and directors of higher adult education complain a good deal about the narrowness of the accrediting associations, but apparently no intensive study has ever been made to try to determine wherein the real difficulties lie.

Few of the learned societies have paid any attention to university extension. Since these groups set the tone for much of the academic life of this country, it might be wise to try to discuss what might be done to influence them to support higher adult education more fully.

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

The distinction between public and private institutions of higher learning has long been the beginning point for much thinking about higher adult education. The point of difference is, at least in theory, fairly straightforward. The public institutions have more of an obligation to provide service; they must respond to demands for the proliferation of courses, for completer coverage of subject-matter, and for greater spread geographically. The private institutions, not being subject to public control, have more of a responsibility to pioneer, to do daring and novel things, to maintain high standards, and to resist the tendency to spend all of their energies on merely providing demanded services.

This distinction may have some validity in theory, but a candid look at practice reveals that it is a difference of emphasis and nuance and is not fundamental. Some of the public institutions—perhaps through policy, perhaps through inertia—have not shown themselves to be responsive to the demands which were made upon them, and they have certainly not gone out to stimulate any demands so that they could then respond to them. Moreover some of the most significant experimentation in new forms of higher adult education has taken place in the public institutions. On the other hand, some, at least, of the private institutions have seemed to be very eager not only to respond to demand but actually to cultivate it, and one cannot find that they have used their freedom or their privacy to do very much that is bold or novel or of high elevation.

One reason the sharp distinction does not operate is that there is not as rigid a difference between public and private institutions as is sometimes thought, and such difference as did exist is now being somewhat eroded. Private institutions have long received both exemption from taxation and direct support from public funds (as when Connecticut gave its land-grant money to Yale). Today direct public grants to private institutions are constantly increasing, particularly so far as the federal government is concerned, and public scholarship and fellowship funds are usually made available to students so that they may go to the institutions of their choice, whether public or private. The public institutions, in their turn, have built up endowments, have secured grants from private sources, have increased their tuition fees, and, in other ways, have developed more and more of the attributes of private institutions.

As this trend continues, the difference between higher adult education in public and in private institutions will probably become less and less, and may well come to be chiefly a matter of somewhat easier financing in the former group. Both kinds of institutions have usually accepted the fact that they had to support their services for adults primarily on the basis of fees, but it has probably been less difficult to persuade the legislature to provide for overhead and special costs than to make the same case with a private board of trustees. (Labor education is a good case in point.) There may be, too, some greater necessity for the public institutions to feel that they must try to extend their services to all the people. But both public and private institutions must retain at least a sufficient breadth of service to maintain themselves and both must do all that they can to raise the quality of their operations and to be inventive in developing new forms of higher adult education. There will be as great differences within each group as there are between them.

INSTITUTIONAL CATEGORIES

Institutions of higher learning, like human beings, can be fundamentally grouped only into very large categories which are defined by a common central characteristic but which have a great deal of overlapping at the edges of the categories. The problem of classification is also compounded by the fact that institutions are constantly changing, almost invariably in the direction of greater complexity and higher levels of offering—and they often claim to have changed even more than they really have. Walter Crosby Eells once remarked that the only way to tell whether an institution was a junior college was to have it identify itself as one. Unfortunately not even this kind of test is any longer infallible, in these days of self-defined universities.

Nonetheless, higher adult education receives much of its purpose and its form from the nature of the institution which sponsors it and some effort at categorization is therefore essential to this report.

The total number of accredited institutions in the United States, as analyzed on the dual basis of sponsorship and level of work, is given in Table 1. In considering higher adult education, however, one can more usefully establish a more complex set of categories, which, while it is not as straightforward as that shown in the table, does take account of

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Table 1. Accredited institutions of higher learning in the United States, classified in terms of level of offering and basic method of control, 1955.*

Highest level of offering	Total	State control	District or city control	Private control	Protestant	Roman Catholic	Jewish
2 to 4 years beyond twelfth grade	525	37	262	89	93	44	0
Bachelor's and/or first professional degree	714	117	4	186	260	147	0
Master's and/or second professional degree	426	141	12	127	89	57	0
Ph.D. or equivalent degree	191	78	3	66	24	15	5
Other	30	6	1	13	8	2	0
Total	1,886	379	282	481	474	265	5

*Source: Education Directory, 1956-57. Part 3, "Higher Education" U. S. Office of Education, p. 11.

the actual groupings in the field. This listing is of general types and it is no more capable of rigidly logical application than would be any other similar categorization.

The Comprehensive State Universities.—These institutions—particularly the ones in the Middle West—have been the leaders in the modern university extension movement. Wisconsin, Minnesota, Illinois, Nebraska, California, and others like them have developed the largest programs of service to their states. Their work is almost incredibly diversified. More than that, they are innovators as well as large-scale service institutions; Nebraska with correspondence study, Minnesota with assistance to voluntary associations, and California with liberal arts education exemplify this concern with new forms of service.

Why did these comprehensive state universities lead the modern university extension movement? Perhaps it was the accident of individual leadership, most particularly that exercised by Wisconsin. Perhaps it was the fact that the developing Cooperative Extension Service set an example for the rest of the campus. Whatever the cause, however, the result is evident.

It is in the comprehensive state universities, with their very large programs of service, that career lines within higher adult education have been most clearly developed. It may be expected that, in the future, an even greater stability and opportunity for well-rewarded lifetime service will be achieved.

The Separate State Universities.—A few of these institutions—such as Michigan, Virginia, and Indiana—have long been in the forefront of university extension, but most of them have lagged a bit behind the comprehensive state universities. To-day, however, a number are moving ahead vigorously; one thinks at once of Oklahoma, Colorado, and Washington. Except for the fact that they do not sponsor the Cooperative Extension Service, they are coming to look more and more like the comprehensive state universities.

The Land-grant Institutions.—These institutions have moved with dramatic suddenness from the stature of small separate technological schools to full-fledged universities; and they have done so, at least in part, because of their work in adult education. The Cooperative Extension Service, which they administer, has given practical service to the rural population of the state, and the land-grant colleges have reaped the rewards from grateful legislatures in which rural people still speak with a disproportionately loud voice. As a result, such institutions as Oklahoma A. and M., Michigan State, and Iowa State have moved rapidly ahead, increasing their enrollment, broadening their curricula, and enlarging their graduate programs.

But while the comprehensive state universities have maintained some balance between general and cooperative extension, the land-grant institutions have had difficulty in finding ways to develop their general services. Pennsylvania State University, which is perhaps less like a separate land-grant institution than are many of the others, has been the most successful in this respect; and Michigan State University has been by far the boldest in its internal re-structuring of extension and its accomplishment. Most of the separate land-grant institutions, however, have not escaped from their past and, with the exceptions noted and a few others, they still do relatively little in general extension and have not found very satisfactory ways to do that.

One of the most important future developments in higher adult education will occur, however, in the comprehensive state universities and the land-grant institutions as cooperative and general extension services learn how to work together. This development will be dealt with later in this report.

The Private Universities.—This grouping contains within it more diverse institutions than any of the others. It includes great and powerful universities which have been, and will continue to be, the leaders of higher education in the United States. It also includes struggling institutions which style themselves "universities" and which have a thin spread of content over a number of fields but which, in reality, are so poor and over-extended that they can barely survive.

The strong private universities have always fancied themselves to be leaders with respect to both the maintenance of quality and the establishment of innovating practices. Some of them have been deeply concerned with adult education; in this group are Chicago and Columbia, among others. Some of them have developed special programs of great significance; Harvard, for example, with its management programs and its Nieman fellowships, comes readily to mind. Some have done little or nothing; in this group would be Yale, Princeton, and Stanford. Except as noted below, there appears to be no major reason for this variation in policy; it is chiefly a product of historical accident and individual leadership.

The private universities of the second rank tend to be able to maintain quality programs in only a few areas. Some of these institutions are content to remain at their present level but others are eager to improve. In their drive toward advancement, they often build support for themselves by offering various forms of adult educational service. The reader may supply his own examples!

Private universities of even lower ranks are unable to maintain a quality program in any area of service. Here, too, the offering of adult education is usually contingent upon the will of the institution to improve itself—and here, too, the reader may draw illustrations from his own experience.

If there is any one social factor which tends to cause a private university to sponsor adult education, it is its location in an urban setting. It is for this reason, perhaps, that the private universities have tended to sponsor evening colleges and other class programs rather than other forms of adult education. Harvard and Chicago are virtually the only private institutions—or, for that matter, almost the only urban institutions—which provide a range of services for a national and international clientele. Chicago's pattern actually is very like that of a separate state university. The other private institutions tend to restrict their services, or at any rate their major services, to their own urban communities.

Some of the most outstanding work in higher adult education is now occurring in the private urban universities. One needs only to mention New York University, Syracuse, and Tulane to make the point. The example set by these institutions and others like them is now spreading rapidly and will greatly influence the future total offering of adult education.

The Catholic universities have paralleled the other private universities in their offering to the communities they serve, with perhaps a particular emphasis on the extension of traditional subject matter.

The Urban Universities.—These institutions, which are supported chiefly by local tax funds, naturally concentrate their service almost wholly within their communities. Most of them do not have very deep traditions and therefore they find it readily possible to undertake new forms of educational activity particularly when the request for it comes from the supporting community. In truth, these institutions are very like the private urban universities with only this one difference: they feel a somewhat greater mandate to provide service to the people of their cities.

The Regional Colleges.—Almost everywhere these institutions are going through rapid evolutionary stages. They have emerged from an exclusive preoccupation with teacher training, just as the land-grant institutions are no longer so centrally concerned with agriculture. They still retain strong vestiges of their past, even as they try to move vigorously into the future. In particular, they are challenging the dominance of the statewide institutions, particularly so far as extension courses are concerned. They jealously guard their territorial rights and sometimes almost seem to move into higher adult education for protective reasons.

Most of the regional colleges are still too small to have large extension staffs. As time goes on, however, they will strengthen their offering and increase the number of people who are involved. As yet they are not a powerful force in higher education, but they will become one.

The Liberal Arts Colleges.—The study by James Crimi has analyzed the situation in these institutions very well.[5] Many of them carry on programs but without elaborate planning or administrative arrangements. The institutions which want to enlarge their size and services are more likely to undertake adult education than are those which are content to remain small liberal arts colleges. But, in most cases, an aura of public relations, money-making, or spreading of the overhead expense surrounds the adult education which they provide.

These institutions have a unique opportunity to do work which is important and consistent with their basic aims and philosophies, but few of them are taking advantage of that opportunity. They tend to be in small towns where they are virtually the only centers of cultural life. Yet they hold aloof and maintain the old separation of town and gown. The president belongs to the local Rotary Club, the faculty members participate in a few community groups, and certain attractions on the campus are open to the public. Nothing more is done, except where some dedicated individual decides that much more should be done.

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[5] James E. Crimi, "Adult Education in the Liberal Arts Colleges," Notes and Essays, Number 17. Center for the Study of Liberal Education for Adults, Chicago, 1957.

The liberal arts colleges which go into adult education all too often move directly away from their basic orientation by offering courses of a vocational or technical nature, ranging from management training to secretarial courses. Southwestern College at Memphis, on the other hand, has for many years pursued the policy of being concerned only with the liberal arts. Its example should be followed by many more institutions.

Separate Technical Institutions.—Here is another omnibus category, including as it does such diverse institutions as M.I.T. and the Colorado School of Mines. Under both public and private auspices, there have been set up a large number of different types of institutions, all of which have only this in common: their orientation to some form of technology.

These institutions have provided limited services to the adult practitioners in their own technological fields, often by means of short courses held on the campus itself. They are now tending to move beyond this form of service into a broader base on which to operate their higher adult educational activities.

Community Colleges.—This term is here used rather than "junior college" although in many situations the two are interchangeable; but the "junior college," properly so speaking, is an institution which offers the first two years of college, usually at a place which is geographically convenient for students who cannot go away to a regular college or university. Now, however, many junior colleges are broadening out into community institutions by providing much broader services—terminal curricula, special programs, and adult educational activities. Many of them will doubtless develop full programs leading to the bachelor's and even to advanced degrees.

Some community colleges are under private sponsorship, but most of them are public and, in this connection, three different policies have emerged. The first of these is to make the community college an upward extension of the secondary school. The second is to establish a special statewide system of community colleges. The third is to have the community college serve as the extension of the university. (This last form will be dealt with separately because of certain important differences which it possesses.) Whatever the form of administration, however, the community college is emerging as a very important institution of higher learning and one which has great present and potential importance for adult education. A special section of this report will therefore be devoted to the institutions in this category.

Extension Centers and Colleges.—These institutions, as noted above, are often junior colleges or community colleges but they differ in that they have central control vested in some larger university. Also a number of them are now full-fledged colleges and others will shortly become so.

The important difference between the locally-sponsored community college and the branch of the university is that the latter has a large faculty which can be used for service to the community. The branch center often serves, in fact, as the regional arm of a statewide university extension service. These branches therefore have the advantage not only of large faculty resources but also of administrative control and direction which guide their extension activities.

UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

One of the most obvious facts about higher adult education is the unevenness of its development. It has not achieved a universal stature as an essential service, as have, for example, the library, the student personnel program, or the basic subject matter fields. Excellent institutions in every category feel no responsibility for teaching adults, and seem to have no discernible interest in doing so. An extension division is like a university press; sometimes it is present and sometimes it is not.

The historians of higher adult education should find it absorbing to try to trace the typical patterns of factors which have led to the establishment of programs of higher adult education. Such a study, which would necessarily use the techniques of the historian rather than the more rigid processes of statistical analysis, might provide some exceptionally useful insights. Perhaps the study of the past might be useful in mapping the strategy of the future.

DISSERTATION

An equally obvious unevenness is the variation in quality of higher adult education from one institution to another. One program is outstanding; another, which appears to have the same basic setting and constituency, is very poor. Why? Does the matter rest on the caliber of the leadership, on historical accident, on some rhythm of development within the institution, on particular pressures from outside, on sunspots—or what? In studying this problem, one can comfortably make use of virtually any theory of history which has ever been advanced. But perhaps, even so, the problem is worth analysis.

GENERAL AND COOPERATIVE EXTENSION

General extension and cooperative extension have both grown to very great size but, as yet, they have had little relationship to one another. For compelling reasons, they can no longer go their separate ways. How are they to merge their efforts? This is perhaps the major question now confronting university extension. The answer can be worked out only very gradually and in countless different ways—and the process will take from ten to twenty-five years.

Since there are only about seventy land-grant institutions, it might be wondered why the problem looms so large. The answer chiefly has to do with the size of the programs involved and the influence they have on other institutions. The land-grant institutions include many of the universities which have led the way in adult education. The work of these institutions now greatly influences the work of all of the others, and will do so even more as cooperative extension and university extension are integrated. Suppose that in some state, the county agents were used to extend both services; the effect on the programs of the separate state university, the regional state institutions, the private colleges, and the community colleges would be immediate. Suppose, on the other hand, that federal and state funds for cooperative extension were broadened to include general extension; such an action would be politically impossible unless all state institutions (and probably all public institutions) were included. The whole course of higher adult education, in all of its aspects, will be influenced by the events which take place on land-grant college campuses in the next few years.

The major issues at stake are complicated and must be sketched here in very broad strokes.

General extension and cooperative extension had a common origin and common ancestors. The academic leaders and foundation executives who were interested in extending the university's teaching drew no arbitrary lines. They thought that institutional resources in every field should be carried to the people. If agriculture was important, it was only because so many people were engaged in it and because scientific knowledge in agriculture was in advance of that in other fields. The separate histories of the two services have many names in common. The great pioneer of cooperative extension, Seaman Knapp, had been a student and teacher of the classics, and his work was supported by General Education Board, whose interests ranged far beyond agriculture.

The Smith-Lever Law of 1914, however, gave the Cooperative Extension Service the funds with which to grow to great size and, because these funds were restricted, that Service became more and more separate from other forms of higher adult education. As the years have had their accustomed influence in deepening tradition and establishing patterns of behavior, the difference has become ever more accentuated. General extension, which has had to earn its own way from fees and which has not had any powerful citizen support nor any patent national planning mechanism has grown fitfully and sporadically, moving far ahead in some places, and lagging far behind in others. Since the war both services have spurted ahead. The Cooperative Extension Service, which was large and powerful in 1945, has tripled its budget in the ensuing years. General extension has had perhaps an even more phenomenal growth. Of the two, the Cooperative Extension Service is still larger, richer, and, off the campus, more influential but it is now being challenged by the general extension services which, on at least some campuses, are now reaching major size and power.

As the two services have developed, they have come to have important differences, which may be indicated in greatly oversimplified form as follows:

Cooperative Extension	General Extension
supported by taxes	supported chiefly by fees, but with some tax support
primary focus on the farm and farm home as the unit to be served	no central focus but a tendency to serve urban areas
supported politically by a powerful farm bloc	some political support for special programs, such as for business or labor, but no generalized support
content focused on agriculture, home economics, and allied fields	content drawn from all parts of the university, except for agriculture

highly diversified and flexible methodology oriented to the needs of the persons served	methodology largely based on traditional university patterns
a separate administration with clearcut lines of authority and few university-imposed restrictions	usually one major administrative unit and a number of other smaller units dispersed through the university; all units intimately influenced by general university operations
a separate full-time instructional staff of sufficient size to have established career lines, rights, and responsibilities	a part-time instructional staff which has no career expectations within extension
a national integrated system	complete institutional autonomy
intricate and intimate relationships with other governmental and voluntary bodies which exercise important controls	full assumption of responsibility by the university

These profound differences will prevent any immediate resolution of the problems which the two services have in working together. There are, however, some very important changes occurring both in society and in the universities which will inevitably bring about closer ties between the two. Among these changes are:

1. The decline in the farm population. The steady and continuing migration to the city has markedly decreased the number of rural people with whom the Cooperative Extension Service can work.

2. The change in farm operation. The small entrepreneurial farm still exists but the number of units in that classification is dwindling rapidly because of many influences, including these: large-scale farming, administered by highly-trained managers; contract farming, in which companies agree to take a farm's complete output, provided the farmer follows exact instructions; farm management arrangements, in which farms are put under the operation of professional farm managers; cooperatives; and the separation of farm and home, with the family living in town and the farmer driving out to the country to do his work. Also the spread of industry and the shortage of labor to provide services has meant that the farmer, his wife, and their children often take jobs outside the farm or have other forms of income; they are therefore less dependent on the farm.

3. The spread of many forms of enlightenment. The farm home to-

day is almost as sophisticated as the city home. The mass media have reached out to everyone and even fairly primitive farm homes have their high television antennas. Book and magazine distribution has been greatly increased through such devices as cheap reprints, mail selling, and rural libraries. Travel has increased, both as a private venture and as participation in tours to such places as Washington, New York, and Europe. The formal education of the farm family has constantly increased. Organized adult education has spread rapidly—in the consolidated schools, by correspondence instruction, and, perhaps most notably of all, through residential courses on the campus of the land-grant college.

4. The urbanization of the Cooperative Extension Service. When people move from the farm to the country seat, they see no reason why the service to which they have been accustomed should not continue to be provided. Naturally this expectation is rather limited so far as agriculture is concerned, although nurseries, green-houses, and truck farming are often carried on in semi-urban settings. But so far as home economics is concerned, there is really very little difference between the farm home and the urban home. The pattern of work of the 4-H Clubs can also be readily adapted to urban settings.

5. The rapid extension of other forms of university adult education. General extension no longer needs to be examined with a microscope. It is constantly moving outward to serve more people and, in a number of states, is developing a field staff which parallels, though it is much smaller than, the county agent system of the Cooperative Extension Service.

These trends so significantly change the pattern of services of cooperative extension that the uninformed sometimes almost seem to think that it will disappear. Such is not likely to be the case. There are about five million farms and while that number will continue to be reduced, there will always be a substantial farm population. The total professional staff of the Cooperative Extension Service is about 15,000, so that there are still about 350 farm families for each worker, not to mention the urban families which are being served. Cooperative Extension leaders maintain with some justice that their service has always been too thin. They need many more resources to do the kind of quality job they have always wanted to do. Now perhaps they can begin to do it.

They have made their case very successfully in the last twelve years with Congress, with state legislatures, and with county commissioners.

They do not only ask for more money to do the same things. They ask for new programs: for improved marketing; for better long-range planning; for integrated farm and home development; and for special services to low-income farms. These are merely examples, and successful examples, of the effort of the Cooperative Extension Service to broaden its work.

But, as it broadens its work, it needs to use university resources which it has not previously had available. The content area of cooperative extension has long since broadened beyond the boundaries of agriculture and home economics. To some extent, the needs for the new subject-matter have been cared for by specialists; a large Cooperative Extension Service to-day may have staff members whose fields are designated as "rural art" or "rural drama" or "rural music." This separation soon begins to look ridiculous, however, particularly to other representatives of the same basic disciplines on the campus.

There are facilities and arrangements which the Cooperative Extension Service now needs for which it must rely on general extension. The radio station, the television station, the center for continuing education or other residential facilities, the possibility of organizing special activities for credit: these are but a few of the examples. Moreover, as home demonstration moves more and more into urban areas, the separation of services within cooperative extension will become greater and greater. What, indeed, will happen if cooperative extension becomes too urbanized; the farm bloc will become alienated and then where will support be found?

Complicated though the future of cooperative extension may be, it has certain strengths which have not yet been achieved by general extension. Chief among these is its established financial position. The directors of general extension can scarcely contain their emotions when they consider the injustice of the situation in which they are placed. They must serve the whole population and they must serve it on all fronts; yet they get little tax support for so large and so important a job. Meanwhile an increasingly limited section of modern society, being educated only in limited ways, has found it possible to gain massive and constantly augmented financial support.

One obvious answer is to try to get federal aid for general extension. In fact, bills with this objective have been before Congress for some time. They have the support of many responsible authorities within the land-grant colleges, including some measure of formal support by the Cooperative Extension Service as well. It is not known, however, how many county agents have urgently brought the financial needs of general extension to the attention of their local Congressmen.

Everybody feels that general and Cooperative extension must somehow be made to work more closely together but nobody knows how that result can be brought about. At Michigan State University, a vice-president in charge of both services has been appointed. At Kansas State College, the director of general extension is administratively responsible to the director of the Cooperative Extension Service. Various other organizational devices and relationships have been worked out—joint staff meetings, memoranda of agreement, liaison officers, joint declarations of policy, and so on—and all of them are useful. But, as Nolte and Browne pungently remarked in their Michigan survey, these are all patchwork devices; perhaps a new roof is needed.[6]

As I have thought about the problem, I have concluded that it is probably pointless to try to begin on the university campus itself. Instead one should begin in the field to work out a pattern of service to the people in which elements from both extension services may be blended. I would propose that the following procedure be undertaken in some state: select a group of counties that are representative of various patterns of agriculture; select a group of people to be county agents in those counties taking care to choose men and women who would be likely to make the venture succeed; give these county agents careful training both before the experiment and during it; let these county agents represent both the Cooperative Extension Service and the general extension division, planning and administering a joint program for the county; give the county personnel special advisory and consultative assistance; keep a careful record of what happens and evaluate accomplishments; and at the end of a period of years publish the results.

Such a proposal presents a thousand problems but none of them are insoluble. The county agent would probably have to charge for some services while he could offer others free, but this fact need not wreck his whole program. Other difficulties which are often presented as insuperable barriers create, in reality, only the need for flexibility. And it is possible that, if the venture really worked, it would establish a pattern for the future which will be as viable and as useful as the pattern which Seaman Knapp set some sixty years ago.

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[6] Julius M. Nolte and Robert Bell Browne, "Extension and Field Services in the State-controlled Colleges and Universities." Staff Study No. 7, The Survey of Higher Education in Michigan. Michigan Legislative Study in Higher Education, Lansing, Michigan, April, 1958, p. 4.

Everywhere in the air is the belief that some kind of a change in basic policies and procedures is necessary. The trends and social movements sketched above are widely known and understood. The federal bill, the conferences of interested parties within the Association of Land-Grant Colleges and Universities, and the numerous efforts at cooperation have had a good deal of attention. The directors of the Cooperative Extension Service are broadening their viewpoint or are being replaced by young and vigorous men who do not feel bound by the past. The directors of general extension are also either changing their viewpoint or are being replaced by a newer group which has a greater feeling of power. In both kinds of positions, men trained in adult education are becoming more numerous; they are aware of the whole field and not prisoners of one part of it. The time for a breakthrough appears to be almost at hand.

ADULT EDUCATION IN THE COMMUNITY COLLEGE

The community college is rapidly becoming one of the most important instruments of higher adult education, and any person who is interested in spreading liberal studies to a mass audience of mature Americans must give the community college an important place in his plans. While still president of Harvard, James Bryant Conant wrote:

> Those institutions which are now coming to be called 'community colleges' offer the best hope of meeting the postwar surge for vast expansion of education beyond the high school. They likewise can serve most effectively as centers for adult education. Their curricula should combine general education and vocational training, and they should be defined as terminal two-year colleges.[7]

In the ten years since those words were written, their truth has been borne out by subsequent developments.

There are at least five reasons why the community colleges are so important in the spread of liberal adult education.

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[7] *Education in a Divided World*, Boston, Harvard University Press, 1949, pp. 200-201.

First, they are geographically dispersed throughout the country, although more fully developed in some states—notably California, Texas, New York, and Illinois—than in others. In 1956-57, there were 652 institutions in this group[8] and they were to be found close at hand and convenient to a very large segment of the population. Particularly to those who hold to equalitarian ideals, this accessibility is of first importance, as indeed it has always been. The argument is the same as it was when Bryce made it in The American Commonwealth defending the small liberal arts colleges which were spreading so widely through the land:

> They get hold of a multitude of poor men, who might never resort to a distant place of education. They set learning in a visible form, plain, indeed, and humble, but dignified even in her humility before the eyes of a rustic people, in whom the love of knowledge, naturally strong, might never break from the bud into the flower but for the care of some zealous gardener. They give the chance of rising in some intellectual walk of life to many a strong and earnest nature who might otherwise have remained an artisan or storekeeper, and perhaps failed in those avocations.[9]

Second, adult education is, and has been from the start, an integral part of the community college. As Hillway says, "The interwining of the three vigorous roots of university reform, adult education, and vocational education into a flourishing new species of educational plant has given us the modern community college."[10] The literature of the community college movement has adult education woven throughout, unlike university extension, which, in the literature of higher education, is often fortunate if it receives a casual mention, a foot-note, or, at best, a cursory treatment in a chapter near the end of the book. ✓

The historical significance of adult education in the community college movement is reinforced by the sharp rise in enrollments in recent years. Table 2 present the figures for the past ten years. Both the actual and the relative increase in adult registrations has been marked, although the appearance of the war babies on the community college scene may now be reversing the trend. Nor are the adult registrations all concentrated in a few institutions. Hillway points out that "nearly half of all the junior and community colleges in the United States operate programs of adult

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[8] Junior College Directory, 1958, p. 3.

[9] Quoted in: Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., p. 118.

[10] Tyrus Hillway, The American Two-Year College. New York, Harpers, 1958, p. 53.

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Table 2. Enrollment figures, American community colleges, 1947-48 through 1956-57.*

Year	Total student enrollment	Adult enrollment	% adult
1947-48	500,536	130,330	24
1948-49	465,815	142,016	30
1949-50	562,786	214,407	38
1950-51	579,475	260,544	45
1951-52	572,193	274,314	48
1952-53	560,732	258,772	46
1953-54	622,864	272,637	44
1954-55	696,321	310,314	45
1955-56	765,551	278,203	36
1956-57	869,720	335,070	38

*Data taken from Junior College Directory, 1958, Tables VII and VIII, p. 48.

education, about a third of them (chiefly those in urban centers) offering rather substantial programs."[11] Of the public institutions, 77 per cent had adult educational programs in 1955.[12]

Third, the junior college years are those in which liberal education is most frequently to be found. Even in universities, it is the lower division of the undergraduate years in which general studies are most frequently concentrated. There are, and always have been, a group of leaders within the community college movement who have been deeply interested in general education and some of the most important pioneering work in survey courses was undertaken in junior colleges.[13] The community college is, therefore, a very natural place in which to develop liberal education for adults.

Fourth, the community college is, in essence, a teaching unit. The faculty does not carry the research commitments common to other forms of institutions nor are rewards centrally based on scholarly study. While this fact robs the community college of some of the distinction typically attached to the higher learning, it does mean that the teaching of adults is more closely allied to typical systems of reward and advancement than it is in the university.

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[11] Ibid., p. 126.

[12] James W. Reynolds, "Community Services," The Public Junior College, 55th Yearbook of the N.S.S.E., 1956, p. 156.

[13] An excellent summary of what has occurred in this respect appears in the chapter by James W. Thornton, Jr., also in the 55th Yearbook of the N.S.S.E.

Finally, in many places, the public community college has a natural and easy means of financing adult education without drawing on other institutional resources or without relying heavily on tuition fees. This fact is true because state-wide financing has been worked out in such a way that aid is given for all students in attendance. The college is, to be sure, not as well compensated for part-time students as for those who take a full load of work, but it is still true that there is usually reimbursement for every clock-hour of instruction, no matter to whom given.

Significant though these five factors are, let it be hastily said that the community college is no more perfect than any other institution of higher learning. It is a young institution and many of its leaders are full of uncertainties, hostilities, and insecurities. It does not reach high levels of scholarship; Woodrow Wilson observed that anybody who thought two years of college were enough had never seen a sophomore. The community college is very local in character and proud of that fact; as Chancellor Capen said about the urban university, "It sits in the midst of its constituency" and it does not wish to move. Most important of all, it is intensely vocational in orientation—and is getting more so.[14] The Miami Herald on August 22, 1958, announced that the local school system was initiating associate degree programs in electronics, fashion design, police science and criminology, and insurance-real estate, and hailed this move as "the forerunner for the coming Junior College in Miami." How does one get to liberal education from this base?

But there are people at work within the community college movement who wish to build and strengthen its general educational aims and programs. Their efforts so far have been largely directed toward the work offered in the daytime to young people, but this would provide an important base for their efforts to improve the general adult programs—if they can be persuaded to do so.

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[14] Hillway, op. cit., pp. 108-09.

To what end? As I see it, there is one major purpose in mind. The community college is an institution—perhaps, the institution—through which large numbers of people may eventually be reached. Perhaps the co-ordinated course is the device by which this result can be brought about—and, if so, the generous financial provisions available to the public junior college may be the way by which such courses may finally be more securely established. Perhaps the co-ordinated course is not the answer, using, as it does, lay leaders, whereas the community colleges work very hard to have their staffs accredited. Probably the liberal educational movement for adults must be more indigenous to the community college itself. But whatever the source and whatever the program, here is an institution which must be reckoned with because it can reach so many people.

It is also an institution with leaders who would like to be creative. The community college, they realize, is an amalgam of ideas and programs springing originally from universities and vocational schools. As is all too often pointed out, "the junior college will, in all probability, borrow more than it will contribute to the quality of higher education."[15] What can be the community college's own distinctive contributions to American higher education? Could a strong liberal adult educational emphasis be one of them? If so, the leaders of the movement could take a greater pride in the institution whose development they wish to advance.

TWO SOURCES OF AUTHORITY

Within any institution of higher learning, there are, in the main, two sources of authority. The first of these is the administration, deriving its powers from the institutional constituency and, more specifically, from the board of trustees and exercising its influence through a hierarchical framework of officers. The second is the corporate body of scholars themselves, still exercising, to a greater or lesser degree, the rights and privileges which were won by the guild of scholars in the earliest days of the university. It is interesting—and perhaps significant—that in the American universities the first is stressed and in the European universities the second. These two sources of power are never sharply distinguished nor can their respective rights be clearly defined. Since they are, in some measure, opposed to one another, they come into conflict from time to time. One may gain a clear ascendancy over the other for long periods of time. But both are apparently necessary and it may be assumed that both will survive.

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[15] Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., p. 142.

The dean or director of higher adult education, whatever his personal strengths or weaknesses may be, is always acutely aware of the two sources of power. He usually feels a bit more comfortable with the first, since he is an appointed officer of the administration, but he knows that, constantly and in intricate ways, he must come to terms with the second. How is he able to do so?

(1) Perhaps the least satisfactory way is to ally himself wholly with the administration of the university, to exercise only the powers which it gives him and to rely chiefly on authority. One evening college dean who has adopted this policy has developed a coherent philosophy concerning it. He is "an officer of the institution" who "operates his budget." He consciously holds himself aloof from social contacts with the faculty lest he become entangled in damaging alliances. He regards his job as being parallel with that of the director of public relations and the director of development, except that—a sore point!—the latter has a vice-presidency and he does not. He is, in short, an "arm of the administration" and he is proud of it. But this man has carried matters farther tham most. The other deans and directors who basically resemble him are, for the most part, merely people who are not deeply grounded in the academic tradition themselves and really therefore do not know how to cope with its mores and folkways.

(2) A second, and occasionally more successful, method of bringing the two sources of power into closer harmony is to appoint a distinguished scholar as a dean or director of extension. Harry Morgan Ayres and Baldwin Woods may both stand as shining examples of men who had won great eminence in their own fields and who then, in their later years, achieved as great distinction in higher adult education. Certain major dangers, however, may confront the institution which wishes a dean with ready-made prestige. The eminent scholar may be worn out from his exertions and wish only to rest in the deanly chair. He may use his new administrative power to assist that part of the University to which he has long been committed or to help "restore the proper balance" by whittling some other part down to more manageable size. He may simply not be adequate to cope with the administrative load. These failings, and others like them, have nothing really to do with higher adult education, though they are oc-

casionally found in that field. They are a part of the whole problem of making scholars into administrators.

(3) Still a third method is for the dean or director of higher adult education to take this field itself as his proper academic specialty and to insist that it provides for him the standing which he needs. One may cite Alexander Charters, Thurman White, Paul Sheats, and Abbott Kaplan as excellent examples of this method. Such men do not need to teach in the field, although some of them do, but they insist on stimulating and leading the faculties of their institutions to a better realization of the personal and social ends which might be achieved by sounder programs of higher adult education.

(4) A fourth method is, of course, for the dean or director and as many of his staff as possible to become active powers within the academic senate. This result is hard to achieve, because leadership in university councils is seldom bestowed upon administrative officers. Occasionally it is; at least two directors of general extension have been head of the academic senates of their institutions while actively engaged in extension administration. But leadership does not always have to be outspoken or to wear titles. It may be unobtrusively exercised—and there is a great deal of evidence, judging by results achieved, that some of the ablest deans and directors are now operating with their faculties in a highly effective fashion. Occasionally they are the very ones who grumble the loudest about the conservatism and narrowness of the academic mind; this practice itself may, on occasion, be excellent strategy.

(5) A fifth method is to pursue the organizational route, and here there are two major devices. The first is to create a special committee for extension made up of leading faculty members. The other is to establish a framework of faculty members who are assigned, as part of this load, the responsibility for working with extension. It is assumed—and often the assumption is made explicit!—that such people, while fundamentally administrators, will also exert an influence designed to advance the course of higher adult education. These two devices, and countless lesser ones, work when they are handled with care and subtlety; they fail when it is assumed that the existence of organization alone can ever bring about desirable results in cementing and improving human relationships.

The advances which occur in higher adult education can be brought about only when the two lines of authority within the institution can achieve some sort of harmony. The correct balance is struck most often when the members of the extension staff can recognize and learn how to discharge without too much internal conflict, their various roles: as academicians with their own subject-matter identification; as members of the university community; as strategists in the university councils; as representatives of the university to the publics outside it; and as administrators. Given at least minimal performance of these various roles, they can usually work out organizational patterns and strategies and they will customarily have the necessary flexibility and subtlety in human relationships to advance the cause of higher education.

Let us now turn briefly to the other source of power, the administrative hierarchy itself.

Human activities are spurred by the establishment of ideals and one does not talk very long with a dean or director of university adult education before discovering that his work and his strategy are stimulated by his particular dream: to get his administrative relationships completely established in a way which will be most favorable to the advancement of his program. He wants direct access to the president, and if this imposes the burden of a vice-presidency upon him, he is willing to accept the load. He wants complete control of all adult educational activities carried out by the institution. He wants all institutional policies so framed as to be favorable to higher adult education. He wants thoughtful, understanding, and generous consideration at budget-making time. He wants his staff to retain all of its present freedom but to have a position of salary and status equal to that of the most distinguished professors. Such ideas as these are helpful, even though as soon as they are described, everyone recognizes that they can never quite be achieved.

The best hope lies perhaps in not being centrally concerned with structure and operation. To amplify this point, may I repeat two paragraphs which I wrote several years ago:

> What does the person in charge of a university's program of adult education really do? Is it his central task to direct a service agency for the other departments and schools, to channel to the public outside the resources which basically reside elsewhere in the institution, and to bring to the attention of the appropriate parties within, the requests for service which comes from without? If so, I suggest that the person who undertakes this task should be called either a "director" or a "vice-president" but he should never be called a "dean." If the work of extension is a service to be supplied at the request or the sufferance of the deans then the correct

> title is "director." If, on the other hand, the work of extension is a central and integral part of the university which should be coordinated throughout with appropriate pressure being placed on the deans when necessary, then the person in charge of extension must be a vice-president. At least two great American universities have come to this latter conclusion.
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> Under what conditions will the person in charge merit the title of dean? Only if, in addition to or in place of the service functions he may have to perform, he accepts the responsibility for being creative in the construction of those programs which are appropriate to the mature students he serves. If he and his staff are the initiators of ideas and if at least a part of their work is to put those ideas into effect with the imagination and freshness of viewpoint which characterizes the pioneer, then they are truly performing a unique and basic function. There is a foundation to their work and on that foundation they can stand. Even if the university has a vice-president in charge of extension, it will still need a special officer, acting as dean, to arrange the unique programs of adult education.[16]

Higher adult education needs men who act like deans, whatever their title. There is, perhaps, only one problem: when they act like deans, they soon become presidents.

Organized adult education has come so late to the university scene that it is not yet sure of itself. Every criticism may seem a threat and every unfavorable decision augur the abandonment of the whole program. As the years pass, this nervousness diminishes. On every campus, there are heated critics of the medical school. The arts faculty looks aghast at the engineers and the feeling is warmly reciprocated. Graduate and undergraduate instruction make their opposing claims. The battle-field of general versus specialized education is always occupied. These conflicts and others like them have gone on for years, even for centuries. To their number is now added a new one: the conflict between campus instruction and adult education. It is wise to realize that this will be a continuing conflict and that even though it cannot be won, it cannot be lost.

CREDIT AND NON-CREDIT

It is widely believed that the award of credit has some positive relationship to the establishment of desirable standards. This view is belied by the fact that, in practice, credit courses actually occupy a middle ground. There are activities "below" them which have not been thought worthy of credit, such as lecture series, film showings, and popular dis-

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16. Cyril O. Houle, "The American University and Adult Education," Educational Record, October, 1955, pp. 9-10.

cussions. There are activities "above" them which disdain credit—management seminars, post-doctoral studies in the professions and the traditional subject-matter fields, and advanced programs in the arts. But credit has the great advantage of simplicity and therefore it tends to be used as the exclusive hallmark of quality. People who like to make distinctions on a black-and-white basis will insist on setting up a standard of quality in one part of the university an entity which was originally developed only as a unit of academic bookkeeping in another part.

The only fundamental way of escaping from the rigidities imposed by the credit system is to be so inventive in developing new programs for which credit has no meaning that the system itself comes to be seen in its proper perspective as a means by which it is useful to measure the amount of accomplishment a person has achieved in a degree program. But there are more direct forms of strategy as well. Let me suggest two of them.

One is to initiate an inquiry into the real meaning of credit as it operates in the field—and to try to see that the results of that inquiry are as widely disseminated as possible. It will be found upon examination that "credit" is a collective noun which includes a vast array—I almost said "disarray"—of separate meanings. There are graduate and under-graduate credit. There are credit which is accepted toward a degree and that which is not, and credit which is accepted for one degree and not for another. There are credit which is used only for internal purposes within the institution and credit which is used only for transfer. There are credit which is meaningful only to the registrar and credit which is part of an external system of education devised by a professional group. There are residence and non-residence credit. There are credit which can only be given if the student has been admitted to candidacy and other credit which anybody can get. There are course pre-requisites which are so established that apparently one can get one kind of credit only if he has first secured other kinds of credit. To lump all of these things under one heading is like insisting that there is no sub-classification of fruits or animals or rocks. The whole concept of credit needs to be shown for what it is and all parts of higher education would profit if this were done.

My second notion is that we might try to leap beyond credit and deliberately put as many of the outstanding activities of higher adult education as we can in categories which transcend, by their name and nature, the pedestrian concerns of credit-counting. The problem is a semantic one and the chief need is for new terms. "Honors" programs would be a good example. I suggest that we turn to the phrase-makers, define the problem for them, and ask how they would cope with it. Since ideas are not at stake, let us fight words with words.

THE BACHELOR'S DEGREE

✓ The number of adults who will want to take a bachelor's degree will increase rather than decline. The reasons are clear: a bachelor's degree will become much more accepted as the essential requirement for advancement in American life; the increased number of higher institutions will make evening study more available geographically; there will be many more young people and, even if the percentage of those who are denied or who refuse an opportunity for study in youth declines, the actual number of such people who will want a second chance in adulthood will increase; and the movement to urban centers, which can support evening colleges, will almost certainly continue.

Degree programs for adults sometimes have certain major faults. They may slavishly imitate programs designed for young people in their late adolescence, thereby rejecting the basic maturity of their students. They may ignore the educative experiences which adults have already had. They may operate by the clock and by the working off of a suitable number of contact hours of instruction, until the magic number of 120 semester credits is reached. They may sometimes not be as discriminating in their entrance requirements as they should be. Their faculty members may not be drawn from the outstanding talent of the institution. Their guidance provisions may be weak. By their very nature, they cannot provide for the residential experience which is so significant a part of the conception of the educated man or woman. Some evening college staffs have worked hard and, in some measure, successfully to overcome these obstacles but no evening college has yet managed to cope with all of them.

Nothing short of a complete re-designing of the whole program for adults will set the pattern for the successful accomplishment of what is needed. This re-designing must incorporate these steps:

1. The analysis of the objectives which are to be sought, such objectives to be stated in terms of a sophisticated approach which includes the arts or skills, the knowledge, the understanding, and the broad range

of awareness of a liberally educated person. Most institutions will also feel that they should allow for some measure of specialization.

2. The construction of entrance and placement mechanisms (usually examinations) with the provision that the student who deserves advanced standing will be given it.

3. The designing of a program of study which will not be based wholly on classes and laboratories but will include independent study, reading, seminars, residential week-ends (if a longer period is impossible), lectures, field-trips, special projects, and other devices which appear suitable.

4. The establishment of two kinds of guidance: that which has to do with requirements, scheduling, and problems of adjustment to the program; and that which offers for each student at least some individualized contact with a faculty member, such contact to be built around the student's interest in a particular subject-matter.

5. The establishment of a flexible program of evaluation based on the objectives. It may include comprehensive examinations, special course examinations, the completion of a major paper, and other elements. The system of evaluation should be harmonized with the entrance and placement mechanisms.

At least two universities are now working actively on a special degree program for adults. But whether the breakthrough comes at one of them or at some other place, it will almost surely come. When some examples of significant adult programming of this sort become evident, standards will have been set for other institutions.

There would be a great advantage in starting such a program on an honors basis. Suitably and skillfully handled, in an urban setting where there are a number of outstanding people who have not had a college education and who are truly "honors" students, such a program could have an enormous effect, particularly with the academic faculty of the institution concerned. Doubtless the program would begin small, but it would end large. When Oxford and Cambridge began their honors programs, only a few were eligible; now the majority of their students study for honors, only a few being the "pass men" who work toward a regular degree. As a result, there are all kinds and combinations of first, seconds, thirds, and so on, and the cynical might suspect that a man who gets a third class honors degree is really not a very extraordinary intellect. But the right values have been placed on intellectual achievement—and Oxford and Cambridge appear to be holding their own.

ADVANCED DEGREES

The number of resident graduate students on American campuses increased from 15,260 in 1920 to 223,786 in 1950,[17] and it is inevitable that the number will continue to rise. The apparently inevitable upward thrust of higher education means that more and more people will need to acquire a master's degree or a doctorate in order to enter an occupation or to advance in it.

There can be little doubt that this heavier concentration in graduate study will be reflected in higher adult education. Trends in this direction are already strongly evident in such diverse fields as education, social work, engineering, public health, and library science.

STATISTICS

We have relatively few valid statistics by which to measure the scope of higher adult education and which could serve as the means by which to measure trends and guide policy.

In 1952, the Council of State Governments published a basic sourcebook on higher education which was written primarily for governors, state legislators, and others who control the destinies of state institutions. The authors of this book mention higher adult education a number of times in terms which indicate that they believe it to be one of the most significant aspects of college and university work. Note, for example, this passage:

> Substantial increases in extension activities, adult education and general public service programs constituted a third significant program shift during the 30's and 40's. Comprehensive data are not available to establish the number of people served by these programs, or their costs, but it is clear that they have mushroomed during the last two decades.[18]

Throughout this fact-crammed book, there are few facts about higher adult education. The important policy-makers and administrators who read the book could get only a dim vague picture of the whole field as contrasted to the clear-cut and precise information available about other aspects of college and university work. The realistic planners for whom the book was intended had no basis for making any plans for higher adult education, and therefore it may be assumed that they made none.

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[17] Higher Education in the Forty-Eight States, Chicago, The Council of State Governments, 1952, p. 43.

[18] Ibid., p. 3.

It has been noted earlier that most books on higher education say little or nothing about work with adults. The result is unfortunate, for the reading of these books conveys unmistakably the impression that higher adult education is not an important port of the work of colleges and universities. The marked exceptions occur in Cooperative extension and in the community colleges, and these two programs demonstrate with remarkable clarity how important the collection of figures can be in establishing adult education in the minds not only of educators but also of legislators.

There are also more immediate and practical advantages of a good data-collection system insofar as it permits sounder institutional planning. A dean may discover what trends seem to be operating in his own program and be guided in his planning thereby. He may be able to make future projections to guide himself, his staff, and the budget-making officers of his university. He may examine his own figures in relationship to those of comparable institutions to discover how well he is doing and where he needs to strengthen his program. These advantages—and others —which are so essential to sound administration and which are so commonplace in other fields are at present denied to most aspects of higher adult education.

The chief problem to be faced in correcting the situation lies in the establishment of reasonably firm categories of service. This is not easy. Charles A. Nelson and I analyzed twenty-one different kinds of higher adult educational activity, each of which would require several different indices of measurement, and we felt that we did only a partial job.[19]

It is the hope of complete coverage which prevents the leaders of higher adult education from doing what reasonably might be done to achieve more adequate statistical measures. They may as well abandon any idea of comprehensiveness and instead select those items which will be most useful and most representative of the whole activity. The wise course of action would probably be for skilled statisticians, experts in higher adult education, and representatives of such data-gathering agencies as the United States Office of Education to work together for several years developing and perfecting indices of measurement.

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[19] Cyril O. Houle and Charles A. Nelson, The University, The Citizen, and World Affairs, American Council on Higher Education, Washington, D.C., Chapter Five.

THE POOR MAN'S FLEXNER

In 1910, Abraham Flexner published his great report on medical education in the United States, a report which proved to be so significant that it is now unquestionably accepted as the beginning-point of all modern progress in its field of study. Not the least tribute to its influence is that it is invariably cited as a model by those who want to reform some other part of higher education. Since men like Flexner are rare, his report has had many imitators but few successors. Despite this fact, American education—particularly in the professional fields—has greatly profited from the sweeping studies which have been made of various segments of academic life.

Is it time for a Flexner report on higher adult education? Is there someone with the powers of analysis and eloquence, the freshness of viewpoint, the stature and independence to speak freely, and a deep conviction of the importance of the field, who could be found to make the necessary survey and to report his results? His work might win him enemies, but there is at least the chance that it might prove to be as much of a milestone as its great prototype.

His pen would dwell at length upon at least three themes.

The Response to "Public Demand."—There is no more troublesome problem area in higher adult education than that which revolves around the determination of precisely what services the institution should provide for its community or its constituency. The public institutions particularly have gone very far in the direction of doing anything for anybody. As the former president of one of them put it: "The state universities hold that there is no intellectual service too undignified for them to perform."[20] The word "intellectual" is the escape hatch in that sentence, but many institutions do not choose to use it.

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[20] Quoted in: Logan Wilson, *The Academic Man*, New York, 1942, p. 175.

The difficulty in dealing with this problem is that there are no clear rules by which one may mark out the things which a university should do and those which it should not. The question must always be decided in particular situations in light of the pressures and the opportunities of the moment. But as between making too many allowances for possibly questionable activities and being too rigid and unyielding in the maintenance of standards, few would doubt that we err today on the side of the former.

Three major arguments are advanced in support of letting down the barriers.

The first is that the institution will profit from the activity, because of better public relations, increased income, or a broader spread of overhead costs. I shall pay my respects to this point of view a little later.

The second is that since the public has paid the piper, it may call the tune. This argument has a certain validity—more, perhaps, in the United States than in any other civilized country—but it does put the university faculty member and administrator in an exceptionally unattractive light, particularly since it calls to mind the fact that the world's oldest profession is said, by those who know, to use the same principle. It is really rather extraordinary, when one comes to think of it, that the argument is ever advanced as a positive principle of action and not as an evil to be guarded against. In other public services, the professional is protected. The public health officer, the meteorologist, or the criminologist would never be found maintaining the position that they should organize their work so that it conforms to the detailed will of various parts of their constituency. Why do university administrators ever do so?

The third argument, and the only really tenable one, is that of public service, of the overwhelming need for the university to put its talents and resources at the disposal of some particular segment of society so that it may be improved. Mr. Dooley was cynical about this argument,[21] at least so far as undergraduate teaching is concerned, but he might have changed his mind had he seen how directly and how significantly institutions of higher learning have influenced their societies through adult education. We need cite only labor education in England and cooperative extension here to make this point. If the dean or director sees a crucial need, he should not only bow to the demand that it be dealt with but he should, if necessary, so organize the demand that he can bow more readily. But this third argument all too quickly gives rise to counter-arguments. How far can an institution's resources be extended? How much damage is done to the overall program by less worthy elements? What can safely be left to other adult educational institutions?

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[21] 'D'ye think th' colleges has much to do with th' progress iv th' wurruld?" asked Mr. Hennessy. "D'ye think," said Mr. Dooley, "'tis th' mill that makes th' wather run?"

The discussion of standards is perennial in higher adult education, both here and abroad, but recently there has been some change in the flow of the arguments. The staff members of extension divisions and evening colleges seem to be calling much more seriously into question some of the things they are doing. Now may be the appropriate time to try to work out some statement of policy matter which, while it could not bind, might offer useful guidance.

Public Relations.—Perhaps the greatest single handicap confronting higher adult education is the fact that it is so useful a device for building public relations and achieving allied secondary aims. With depressing frequency throughout this report it has been said that the institutions which stress adult education are those which are ambitious for advancement. One is reminded of the athlete who has difficulty in persuading people to regard him as anything else. It is assumed that one who has brawn seldom has brains. The same assumption is often made about higher adult education.

Unfortunately, some of the leaders of the field tend to further this assumption. A dean or director may understand very well that adults can learn better than children can, that all of life should be a time of learning, that the individual and social gain from a particular adult educational program is greater than from some program on the campus, and that the teaching of adults is a more rewarding, though more complex, pursuit than the teaching of adolescents. But these are points which are hard to make because most of the faculty and the administration are not conditioned to accept them. The public relations point is, however, instantly impressive. In a budget conference with the president or in a policy debate with an academic committee, the most telling blow is struck by the assertion that the institution will suffer in dire ways if an appropriation is cut or a program abandoned. This game can, of course, be played at various levels of subtlety. One adroit operator, for example, always takes the high-ground of academic principle himself, but he makes certain that the public relations values of extension will be forcefully presented by someone else.

One cannot censure the deans and directors for using this argument since it is the most powerful one they possess. Every other major administrative officer has his own weapons which he rattles threateningly when they are needed: the loss of accreditation by the appropriate special body (of which he may be himself an influential member), the anger of the organized professional group with which his college is associated, or the concerted action of his faculty in academic councils. Since the chief administrator for adult education lacks these great advantages, why should he not use the major weapon he does possess?

AUEC should give him this weapon

The net effect is, of course, to confirm higher adult education, in the eyes of the administration and faculty, as a secondary function of the institution. Other academic parts of the university may be important for public relations, but they are not supported for this reason alone. The president of a state university, for example, may work very hard to establish a law school within his institution, in part because he knows that lawyers often find their way into the state legislature; but he would lose his case if he rested it on this argument. Somehow the situation seems to be reversed so far as university adult education is concerned. And matters may get worse, not better. With so many institutions fighting for support, the emphasis on the public relations values of university adult education will tend to be accentuated.

There is already a counter-trend in at least a few institutions. Strong academic leaders within the extension division or the evening college are working to involve their academic senates in the planning of programs which are important for their own sake and around which some sense of mission and dedication is built. Perhaps these programs, and the level of quality they establish, provide the major hope that university adult education will no longer be thought to be strong-backed ~~but weak-minded~~.

Soft Pedagogy.—There is a widespread feeling in academic circles and among the avant garde that the adult educational activities of American colleges and universities operate at a standard which is considerably below that on the campus. The "soft pedagogy" contention is often heard in discussion, and occasionally it breaks over into print. There is just enough truth in the argument to disquiet the deans and directors of higher adult education. All of them can cite horror stories of what goes on at other institutions and each of them may be uncomfortably aware of certain weak spots in his own program.

Some solace may be found in the fact that the major attack on higher education has been levied not against adult education but at the work on the campus itself. If university extension has low standards, they may grow out of the fact that the work done all too accurately extends what is happening on the campus. As John Erskine noted, good college teaching is "so rare that the news of it spreads with the speed of scandal." Such polemical writers as Flexner, Veblen and Hutchins have demonstrated the excesses of the higher learning in America with indignation and sardonic wit. Their attacks are backed up by a number of novels which deal with the same theme and whose satire would often be more effective if their under-lying bitterness were less evident. The whole theme of the attack is neatly summarized in Stringfellow Barr's Purely Academic.

Schneider, the chairman of the history department, is having breakfast with Denby, the representative of a large foundation. The latter asks, "Is anything exciting happening in this place?" Schneider answers:

> "Nothing whatever. At least, nothing relevant to liberal education. The professional schools aren't too bad, except for being a bit trade-schoolish. What would make anything happen educationally? There's no common purpose. The trustees want to prevent subversion and stay solvent. President Pomton wants to get publicity and, eventually, if it isn't too late, a bigger job somewhere else. The department heads want to raid each other for students, especially for majors, and thereby enlarge their departments. The professors want to publish, get prompted, get famous, and meanwhile stave off their creditors. Weed—you met Weed—tries every three or four years to get a decent undergraduate curriculum started, but he always fails and takes to drink again. Anyhow, Weed is an exception. The wives of the professors—including mine—are socially ambitious and go in for cut throat competition. The men students try to make fraternities, make athletic teams, avoid study, and then graduate somehow or other. The girls try to make sororities and find a husband. The parents of the students hope their offspring won't "get ideas." The dean of women hopes the girls won't conceive anything more dangerous than a concept before they find husbands. And the alumni hope the teams will win, and hunt promising high-school athletes to send us. As for me, I no longer know what I want, but it's not this. Maybe, somewhere else, under-graduate education is possible. Maybe, at Harvard or Yale or Princeton, something goes on."
>
> "Don't be silly," said Denby severely. "What you've just described is a coast-to coat operation."[22]

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[22] New York, Simon and Schuster, 1958, pp. 34-35.

Later, looking back on this conversation, after a curriculum conference, Schneider reflects:

> Could any of these undergraduate courses, or all of them taken together, hope to touch the central problem? A mob of largely illiterate graduates streamed annually from these halls to furnish leadership—the word was a must in every Commencement oration—to a confused and bewildered society. If the University could revive the kind of teaching that could cure the higher illiteracy, would any of its graduates find it unreasonably difficult, over some long week end to learn everything of consequence that any one of these courses contained?[23]

Can the higher adult education do anything to improve the caliber of the higher learning on the campus? The answer has been shown to be in the affirmative so far as the professional schools are concerned. A professor of business who has taught in a management program can never quite treat his undergraduate students the same again, and a man who has been an extension specialist in agriculture brings to his campus teaching, a grasp of the problems of the field which enables him (though it does not always compel him) to present his subject matter with a sense of reality vitality which otherwise would be absent.

The answer is not so clear in the liberal studies. Such diverse figures as Robert M. Hutchins and Ernest O. Melby have argued that campus teaching can be revivified by strong programs of adult education which, operating in a freer air, set patterns of study which provide a challenge and a model. But it must be confessed that the case has not been proved by anything other than isolated examples. Perhaps it can be. Certainly anything should be tried which offers hope of tempering the excesses evident in the teaching of both young people and adults.

And, it may be added, of removing the curse of "soft pedagogy" from higher adult education.

LIFELONG LEARNING IN THE LIBERAL STUDIES

Professor Schneider suggested that professional education, though "trade-schoolish," has outstripped liberal education in American institutions of higher learning. Most analysts would agree with him, including so sober a judge as C. DeWitt Hardy, who said: "The function performed most efficiently by education in America is the training of students to make a living.'[24] It is pointless to dwell on the reasons why this fact is true, for they are well known. It may be useful, however, to make one central point which is relevant to higher adult education.

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[23] Ibid., p. 49.

The professional schools have developed much further the practical concept of lifelong learning than have the other parts of the university. We see this point most clearly in programs of teacher education. Formerly the person who planned to be a teacher took all his academic training during his pre-service period. Today he studies to be a teacher but then, after some years of experience, he comes back to the university again and again to secure the special training which is needed as his particular career pattern develops.

Everywhere in higher education for the professions one finds this same pattern of development. The armed services have designed lifelong patterns of correspondence study and specialized service schools, and the career officer—even the graduates from the major academies—expects to be assigned to study at periodic intervals. The Association of Medical Schools is giving a great deal of thought to the lifetime training of doctors, which is required, if for no other reason, by the extraordinary advances of medicine. In law, in engineering, in agriculture, in theology, and in other professional fields, at least some institutions are pioneering in working out lifetime patterns of study.

Why is this same thing not true of the liberal arts, which, of all areas of work, are most endlessly challenging and most suited to mature minds. Perhaps the answer lies most obviously in the fact that liberal arts graduates do not cluster together in later life in clearly-patterned groups and their needs are general rather than specific. But there may well be another even subtler reason which was suggested when Professor Schneider reflected that if the students were well taught on the campus they would acquire a sufficient discipline to direct their own study thenceforward and could, in a long week-end, master the content of almost any course. The idea of self-education, of the person disciplining himself, runs so deep in the tradition of humane studies that it is seldom called forth for examination.

And yet the self-educating person does not always study alone. He wants the social campanionship and the intellectual stimulation of working within a group. Why are there, on the whole, such few groups? More than that, why are there so few people who, in any real sense, could be considered self-educating and who, by the time they have reached their forties have lost such liberal arts as an expensive college education once gave them?

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[24] Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., p. 165.

Somehow the liberal arts faculty must more directly examine the concept of life-long learning and deal more definitely with the challenges it presents, even as the professional schools have done. What would they do differently? That is the question to which they must find an answer! Until they do, higher adult education in the liberal studies must remain largely remedial and can never fully develop its service for its natural clientele, those who are always engaged in their own intellectual advancement.

"LIBERAL AND AMPLE"

If there has been any one urgent note struck in this paper, it is the hope that higher adult education can find ways to raise its quality and to extend its breadth and purpose. Such a point should not have to be made at all and yet, apparently, it must be reaffirmed again and again in the educational progress of every generation. There are no fresh words in which to phrase this perennial viewpoint but for a passage which puts the matter as clearly as it can be put, let me quote from a report made by the Yale faculty in 1828:

> The active, enterprising character of our population renders it highly important that this bustle and energy should be directed by sound intelligence, the result of deep thought and early discipline. The greater the impulse to action, the greater is the need of wise and skillful guidance. . . . Light and moderate learning is but poorly fitted to direct the energies of a nation, so widely extended, so intelligent, so powerful in resources, so rapidly advancing in population, strength, and opulence. Where a free government gives full liberty to the human intellect to expand and operate, education should be proportionately liberal and ample.[25]

In this whole passage, the modern university adult educator could take exception only to the word "early." For it would seem to him that every human being must continue to discipline his mind throughout life and, by that discipline, gain the power to direct the larger aspects of his personal and his public life.

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[25] Hofstadter and Hardy, op. cit., p. 17.

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Liberal Education for Adults Re-examined

The Queens College Program

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an organization established by a grant from the fund for adult education to work with the universities providing liberal education for adults.

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LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS RE-EXAMINED

The Queens College Program

by

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CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

April 1959

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS RE-EXAMINED

(THE QUEENS COLLEGE PROGRAM)

(By Marc Belth and Herbert Schueler)

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PREFACE

About four years ago the authors of this essay approached the Center with an idea for a new program of liberal adult education and asked for some modest support for an experiment with it. Adult educators, they argued, are forever talking about "taking individuals from where they are" as a basic, democratic principle of the field. But what does such a principle mean when an instructor confronts twenty to thirty students in the same class, all probably at different places. Does he have to become a multi-split personality, try to out-Hopkins old Mark? Should he use some sort of esoteric, distasteful group method? And, whatever he did, what would such a course or curriculum look like? Can one emerge with anything better than a colorful patchwork of badly-connected fragments?

The Center, always game for a new idea, particularly one which is likely to sharpen old saws, made some necessary funds available to Queens College's School of General Education, whose director at that time was Herbert Schueler. His successor, Glen Howard, carried on the Seminar Program with the aid of this essay's second author, Marc Belth, the consistent philosophical guide for the program and surely one of its most brilliant teachers.

This piece, however, is not the story of the trials and triumphs of the program itself; that story has yet to be reported in detail and we hope to do so in the future. Schueler and Belth attempt here to provide with some care the philosophical underpinnings for the program, its postulates and their spinning-out. It is far from being the only or the most common position in university adult education; it is certainly one of the most interesting, challenging, and controversial of them.

Harry L. Miller, Assistant Director
The Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

I. INTRODUCTION

It is the nature of the experience within which growing occurs, either in individuals or in cultures, that they force a reconsideration of even the most cherished and sacrosanct beliefs. There is no way of anticipating what kind of experiences will promote the assessing and re-evaluation of values, but all experience has this potentiality. Certainly as an activity becomes more intense, as more people participate in it or more factors are pertinent to it, a need for reconsideration and reorganization of the situation within which the familiar activity takes place occurs. The familiar and the comfortable, becoming complex, lose their familiarity and, frequently, their traditional status as well.

A growing complexity of program and an increasing enrollment are changing adult education today. Perhaps they call for a re-examination of its aims and re-defining of its methods.

More adults have returned to schools in America than at any time in her history. Schooling, once an accepted occupation for the young only, has become a socially recognized adult advocation. The concept of formal education as a terminal activity confined to man's pre-adult years is slowly giving way to the notion that it should be a continuing resource available to adult years as well. The folk ideal of the self-made leader of men who succeeded in spite of (or because of) limited schooling has been replaced by the ideal of the university-trained executive who is continuing his education, ranging from a management institute to a discussion group on Aristotle. Whatever a man's motivation—whether he is seeking to improve himself in his vocation, catching up on missed opportunities for degrees or diplomas, pursuing a hobby or a new-found interest, satisfying intellectual curiosity, developing aesthetic sensibilities, becoming a more informed participating citizen, finding personal purpose in a world that seems to have passed men by, seeking intellectual companionship, overcoming the boredom of increasing leisure, or even, as some cynics suspect, finding a haven that's warm, congenial, and away from the nagging problems of home and job—somewhere near by there are increasing num-

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ners of an infinite variety of courses that he can take to satisfy his needs. Taking a course is fast becoming a desirable and socially acceptable after-hours occupation for a growing number of adults of all social, economic, and educational levels.

Many explanations of this continuing adult education have been made. Some viewers have seen it as a manifestation of upward mobility. The bookkeeper seeks to become a CPA, the mechanic an engineer, the salesman an executive, the typist a private secretary, the clerk a member of the Bar. Certainly much of the adult education effort of our colleges and universities is in service of vocational self-improvement, with its attendant economic and social benefits. Most people in our society understand and appreciate the desire for vocational advancement, and programs for job-improvement are often cited as evidence of equality of opportunity in Western life. Such programs also show how education makes possible the professionalization of our society. And while there are controversial issues in the vocation-oriented programs of adult education—for example, the question of how much standardization of training is desirable, and to what extent a student may be given credit for what he already knows and can do, rather than exclusively for the courses he happened to have taken as an undergraduate—the various pathways and purposes are quite clear.

Other viewers have emphasized the role of adult education as avocational, and have seen its growth as a positive consequence of increased leisure and a progressively shortening work-week. Innumerable courses in crafts, painting, photography, ceramics, woodworking, flower-arranging, guitar-playing, folk singing, listening to hi-fi are held to be a clear expression of this role. The recreational phase of adult education is as clearly defined and understood as is its opposite, the vocational. Its method is that of the non-formal, non-credit workshop, in contradistinction to the formal credit course of the vocational program. Here too, with purpose and nature clearly defined, controversy is limited. Where there is controversy, it centers not so much in the merit per se of the activity, but in the question of how appropriate the activity is to higher education.

Between these clear extremes of the narrowly vocational and the frankly recreational lies a confused and confusing potpourri of courses, lectures, discussion groups, institutes, and conferences, largely in recognizable areas of the humanities and the social sciences. (That the natural sciences are so conspicuously unrepresented is a revealing and, in view of the temper of our time, a tragic characteristic of this phase of adult education. The underemphasis given the natural sciences will loom large in the discussion that follows.) Academic education that is neither strictly vocational nor strictly recreational but is more general and flexible in its aims is the kind of education usually thought of as "liberal"—courses and programs in literature, poetry, philosophy, civic affairs, international relations, human relations, anthropology, Great Books, play-reading, art in the modern world, and others. In these broad areas, over which higher education has traditionally assumed guardianship, and sometimes, to the great annoyance of creative spirits like G. B. Shaw, even proprietorship, controversy as to purpose and method is becoming increasingly critical. Among administrators, for example, arguments develop over the merits of credit vs. non-credit activity; long courses vs. short courses; conventional lectures with recitation vs. informal discussion-groups or workshops; degree or certificate program vs. non-degree programs evolved from students' needs and their insights into the materials; the question of standards of achievement, the question of grading. All of these are surface manifestations of fundamental disagreements and more critically of lack of clarity, decision, and understanding regarding student-motivations, institutional functions, and the nature of adult learning.

In this area of the "liberal," student motivations, for example, are likely to be more diverse, complex, and less easily comprehended than in the clearly vocational and recreational. And where the motivation of students is unclear the purpose and nature of adult programs themselves will be unclear. They will have little value to the student whom the institution is attempting to serve. The unusual effort to achieve greater understanding takes the form of direct, but unrelated questions. What impelled the housewife to enroll in a course in "The United States in International Affairs"? Was it a casual need to become better informed and more knowledgeable about foreign news in the newspaper? Was it a highly personal search for some antidote to a growing feeling of insecurity in a rapidly changing world? Was it a need to get away from household routines that had lost their challenge? Was it a search for companionship and activity at a level other than that which the family circle could offer? Was it the desire to continue intensive study of a field begun in college and interrupted by family responsibilities? Did the accountant enroll in the course on the "Psychology of Human Relations" because he felt the need to find ways to relate more positively to the people with whom he came into daily contact in his profession? Because he suspected he had an inferiority complex? Because he felt his children had grown away from him? Because he had a morbid curiosity about mental disorders? Because he had a fear of going insane, or suspected his mother-in-law of already being beyond psychological redemption? Or did he enroll because it just seemed like an interesting thing to do on Tuesday evenings, when his wife habitually visited her mother? In vocational courses, on the other hand, whatever the students' motivations, a course in accountancy is clearly for those who wish to become accountants; the content and skills to be developed follow in organized sequence, and the student must fit himself into the pattern and standards set by others for him. In an informal hobby workshop, where recreational motivation is paramount, differences in specific motivations and differences in skill, determination, and industry are provided for in a learning situation that is usually student-centered and that allows considerable latitude for individual student activity. The very variety of motivations toward learning indicated a world increasingly complex, and one which demands the format of a wider kind of education than any yet developed. Unfortunately educators have far too long substituted expediency for a thoroughgoing philosophical examination. All too often they have lifted a course bodily from its hoary haven in a college curriculum designed for post-adolescent, full-time day students, and dropped it —professor, syllabus, grading system, examinations, and all—into a program for part-time, evening, adult students. Sometimes, in recognition that something seems to be wrong, the course is self-consciously "watered down" in apologetic recognition of an assumed qualitative inferiority in adult students. Sometimes, and in recent years with increasing frequency, educators have attempted to create a pre-conceived package "specially for adults." Such package programs tend toward mass-produced syllabi, study guides, or textbooks intended for adult study groups in a variety of disciplines and assume a level of interest, background, and ability common to a sufficiently large segment of the potential adult student population to make for many identical courses and study groups in as many university and community centers as possible. The typically Madison Avenue attempt to apply the technique of the hard sell, which has proved to be so successful with toothpaste, depilatories, and underarm deodorants, is applied tc mass-produced cannings of cultural fodder. Sometimes, on the other hand, in an attempt to get as far away as possible from the content-centered course concept, a quasi-recreational approach is applied in attempts to establish so-called unstructured discussion groups or workshops. These "student-centered" groupings sometimes succeed spectacularly when leadership is accidentally discovered; more often they simply fade into ignorance ineffectively shared. Admittedly, the picture is sharply drawn to highlight its weaknesses. But all these attempts, for all of the successes they may occasionally show, are far from a considered examination of the needs of adults in our precipitously changing world. It is the purpose of this essay to develop a thesis of adult liberal education that will place the university as a community of learners in a fruitful relationship with the adult in a changing world and to suggest certain guiding principles upon which truly mature, truly meaningful, and truly liberal programs of continuing adult education may be built.

II. ADULT EDUCATION AND THE MATTER OF PERTINENCE

In youth-education teachers and administrators have never quite gotten over the view that education which really matters is most effective when removed from the press and distraction of the day's events and pursued in an atmosphere if not of intellectual purity, at least of non-pertinence to the learners' present needs. Traditionalists on the one hand ground their views in a conviction that transient happenings are of less import than the lasting verities embodied in historical fact—in literature that has already proved its worth, in ideas that have prevailed over changing times. Progressivists hold that since youth is not yet adult, the feelings, desires, natural impulses, and interests of youth may be taken into account, yet must be subordinated to the requirements and prescriptions set by adults. The question of pertinence, in either view, is a question resolved by the adult on behalf of youth. It is a matter largely of imposition and direction outside the immediate issues confronting the young learners. Since the inescapable destiny of youth is to become adult, the equipment for living in the adult world is the measure of his development; the requirements of the world of youth are not. The teacher and not the learner decides what is pertinent. Nor is it particularly important for the learner to accept the pertinence of what he is expected to learn; it is enough that he, the not-yet-adult, the still incomplete being, accept the prescription of his mentor.

The traditional source of the youth's learning is the world of which he is not yet a part, and which at some future time he will be expected to enter; the concerns of his own world are at best considered to be extra-curricular, at worst distraction from the serious business of becoming "educated." This view may seem to be extreme, yet it is ubiquitous, even in periods of development in the art of pedagogy when educators like Rousseau, Froebel, Pestalozzi, Herbert, Dewey sought ways to achieve a closer identification of the immature learner with what he is to learn. The young learner is in the last analysis a captive learner. Good teaching and a curriculum that builds bridges of empathy with the learner may make him more willing and happy, but a captive he is nevertheless. And where bad teaching and ill-conceived curriculum hold sway, the society of the school can count on the power of extrinsic discipline to exact compliance when empathetic willingness cannot be achieved. To put it bluntly, childhood and youth education can function with little regard for what children and adolescents feel a natural and unforced concern. The school, as an institution, can operate as an autocracy, with the children as subjects. The autocratic relationship that prevails here has been constructed into a model for all educational activities. One group, by its status, has authority to impose views and methods on others: adults on youth, academician on the non-academician, the unconfused on the confused, the wise on the unwise. But the model is of doubtful value, for if there is clear distinction between youth and age, the distinction between the other pairs is more difficult to sustain beyond formal structures. Nevertheless, the pattern remains and leads to grave problems.

Liberal adult education cannot in the long run exist without addressing itself to the personal needs of its clientele. The pertinence of his learning activity to the individual adult not only cannot be ignored but must be fundamental to the substance and method of his education. If this is a philosophical imperative, it is because it is a statement of a condition of survival. One has but to note the kind of courses that seem to go well and the kind that begin hopefully and dissipate after two or three sessions, or never materialize for want of sufficient registration. As the administrator of an adult program knows, "activity" classes can, on the whole, be counted upon to be successful. These include not only the recreational courses such as the many arts and crafts workshops, the drama groups, the choral and orchestral societies, but also the practical and immediately useful workshops in carpentry, home mechanics and repair, clothing design and construction, automobile maintenance. In other words, the courses whose goals are immediately identifiable as being organized to promote either release from the day's tensions, or to produce work and skills that give both recreation and a return of marketable measurability are always popular. Both in substance and in method, these activities are clearly and immediately pertinent to the individuals that engage in them. Awareness of direction and use gives the student a sense of being able to evaluate the activity of the course in most personal terms. It is some perverse logic which moves the academician to scorn these classes? One might almost suspect that success condemns them.

The courses that a university holds to be "liberal," however, are usually hard put to it to survive, unless they are given extrinsic disciplinary trappings, such as being required in a vocational degree or certificate program. But when offered to a completely non-captive audience, as are the arts and crafts workshops, they often succeed only on the strength of an interesting and provocative or amusing instructor, who offers, on what is construed to be an academically respectable level, what the recreational courses offer in their native character. In such cases, the method of entertainment is used to overcome subject matter that was never defined or developed in terms of the adults' present concern. Some subjects, on the other hand, like psychology, invariably attract an initially large following, because they hold the promise of insights to the very problems of human relations men and women confront daily. And when, as happens all too often, such courses fly off prematurely into abstractions where their connections with the urgent present are lost sight of in isolated concerns and specialized language, then they, too, fall victim to shrinking enrollments. It is time that educators cease demanding of adult students an unquestioning acceptance of the value system of academic scholars.

To the scholar, a Great Work, a historical event, a work of art, a natural law, a principle, a hypothesis, has the primary pertinence that his interests give to it. His profession of scholarship requires complete subordination of self to the object of his study. Learning is pursued for learning's sake, investigation is pursued for the sake of adding to the world's store of knowledge. The successful non-professional learner, however, is rarely interested in the pre-occupations of the scholar. If he seeks learning for its own sake, it is usually secondary to the concern of learning for the sake of living. The work of art becomes pertinent if he can partake in the creation of its aesthetic communication; the explanation of human behavior becomes meaningful to the degree that it gives him insight into his own behavior and that of the people with whom he comes into contact; the great work of ethics gathers significance as he can relate it to the value problems of his own life and of the life of his time. The study of literature, philosophy, art, international affairs is not an end in itself, it is a means of self-enrichment, of acquiring deeper understandings and a richer grasp of current personal and social problems, of expanding personal horizons, of quickening the intellect and sharpening the senses. Unless the adult can find this kind of primary, personal pertinence in the learning activities of the university adult course in the liberal arts, he will not long remain.

It is time that the university look to the world and the problems of men, rather than to its own academic traditions if it is interested in building a curriculum and method pertinent to the adult. In a world of precipitously developing complexity and overwhelmingly rapid technological advance, the uncertainties, dissatisfactions, and social problems of men cry out for understanding and solution. The very technological advances whose design it was to promote greater mastery of nature and thus enable men to live without the need of struggling against each other, have seemingly served but to heighten men's struggle against each other. In a world shrunk by instant communication devices and by travel at supersonic speeds, people need to strive not only for mutual understanding and an acceptance of their differences, but, burdened by partial understanding and recognizing fundamental difference, still find the strength and will and deepen their knowledge and skill to work out solutions—entire or partial—to world-wide problems. Furthermore the notion that every man can hew out a permanent place and fit himself securely into it, so long under attack, is now all but disintegrated. The changes in our civilization have intruded into every level of our lives. If we are to understand the changes that drive us, we must in some way lay these bare to the understanding, and nurture our abilities to grasp them.

Change is the watchword of our century. What was science fiction a short decade ago is now everyday reality. We accept change quite readily as we benefit from its consequences in more comforable lives, better health, greater leisure. But this increase of largesse is accompanied by a rising whirlwind of changes. Changes in social mores and ethical concepts cry out for understanding and evaluation. And are we not in danger of diminishing in stature as our wherewithal expands? Is our sphere of self-direction not being limited by the material advances we have wrought? In freeing ourselves from much of the bondage of want and physical insufficiency of our ancestors, have we not chained our spirit? In reaching ever for the new, are we less secure? To be sure, questions such as these are not new. Variants of them appropriate to other changing times have been asked before and will be asked again, but the fact remains that they are experienced as new and urgent every time they are asked. And it is questions such as these, in their peculiar pertinence to each individual, that provide a challenge to university adult education.

Now an imaginative university administrator, having read, and let us immodestly assume, agreed with the foregoing, can readily come up with a whole series of courses embodying pertinently the concerns which are prevalent. "Atomic Science: Threat or Boon?" "International Understanding in a Shrinking World"; "You and the UN"; "Ethics in a Changing World"; "The Challenge of Sputnik"; "Spiritual Values in a Materialistic Society";—pertinent subjects all, and easily encompassed in eight to fifteen weekly 100-minute meetings. There remain but the problems of attracting sufficiently stimulating and knowledgeable lecturers for each course and of communicating to a potential public by an enticing prospectus and by newspaper and radio advertisements. And what will happen? If past experiences are any criterion, there may be a respectable initial response, but little lasting effect. Another dean perhaps more knowledgeable than the first may learn from the degree of interest evidenced by large attendance at a beginning lecture and develop a lecture series composed completely of first lectures, each of which will give a stimulating initial glimpse of a major current problem, and leave it at that. Obviously, there is more to the problem of pertinence than merely organizing the content of courses or lectures in advance of student registration in a way that brings the content closer to the concerns of the modern adult. The basis for building a program is more than taking cognizance of current concerns and assuming more than can be validated at a given moment. It is a matter of locating the form of the concern as people sustain it and of noting the changes that take place as understanding grows. Thus, the basis for building a program is rooted in both content and method, with each an integral part of the other, much as two sides of a coin represent different but joined parts of one whole. What happens to one side affects the whole coin. We propose therefore to consider next those elements of the life and learning of the modern adult which can most promisingly lead to an educational psychology for adults in our society.

III. THE CONTEMPORARY SOURCES FOR AN EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY FOR ADULTS

The primary point to be taken into account by a program of liberal education for adults will have to be the fact that adults are already engaged in responsible activities and that the decisions they make carry weight in the lives they live, as well as in the lives of others who depend upon them. In fact, the intricate relationships that people maintain these days and the complexity of the decisions they must make may constitute partial motivation for their return to school. Education is in a sense being called upon to build new orderliness and meaningful direction into their lives. Those concerned with this education,—administrators, teachers, and learners alike,—recognize the urgency for setting new goals and discovering new directions; but first, an examination of certain elements can be helpful:

(A) Education does have inherent conditions of its own which must be met. The process of learning cannot simply be analogized from examples of other endeavors in our business world, such as manufacture, or distribution of marketable goods. It has a process of its own, as different as building a house is from using that house.

(B) The state of the world today, reflected in the perplexities that beset human relationships, is a clear evidence of the inadequacy of present institutions, including educational institutions. There is need for the kind of thinking and feeling and acting that will literally keep men alive. Each of these areas presents itself as a primary source for the development of a pertinent psychology of education for mature people and must be examined at length.

A. The problem of the inherent character of the educational process is one which has been of concern to many people in recent years. But those who have had to deal with it more directly—the administrators—have seen it necessarily in terms of budgetary balances. As a result they have often viewed their programs as activities which must compete with a great variety of other activities—many of them attractive—and adult programs seem all too often to have entered the lists which must win in the competition for an audience. Wisdom, they felt, could be both fruitful

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and fun. The only thing needed to get people in was the modern technique of selling. The contents of education must remain the same, but the packaging might very well have to be changed. All sorts of programmatic deals have developed as a result, and these have promised all sorts of easy access to that peculiar success which is the success of appearing to be literate, understanding, and self-assured. The flexibility of education has been limited by the notion that although it must be responsive to new programming procedures, its flexibility might stop there. While the externals might be refashioned, with interesting success, the hard core, the basic values of education must not be violated, for truth is not flexible; it cannot be stretched.

There would seem to be little point in arguing at any great length what has been argued so well by educational theorists for the past fifty or more years. But it is worth repeating certain notions for their pertinence in the development of a specific view. The fact is that when education is treated as if it were a series of special, distilled, atomized pellets, containing within them the power and the wisdom of the ages, then the subject matter is inherently inflexible, no matter how the world changes.

The psychology of learning which attends such a view is a most intriguing one. It appears as a concern to persuade people they should work up energy enough to hold still while the educational dosage is given and takes effect, under the conviction that truth does not depend on men, but transcends and dominates them. It is true that the effects of such truth, like good health, are sometimes almost unnoticeable when present. It is perhaps impressive that tradition can bring about a psychological set so powerful that it does not change, it only gives rise to contradictory, coexisting attitudes. Our modern world, then, is made up of adults who hold certain indestructible, eternal truths about men and truth and nations and the good, but these may not always be applicable, or needed in the press of our daily lives. Ethics and business ethics may differ without causing too much guilt in anyone's mind.

The effect of such a conception of the role of education, so dangerous for the young, is more disastrous to adults. Because it lacks pertinence to life itself, it promotes the scorn called anti-intellectualism in adults. The demands for pertinence make also a demand for a newer psychology, one which will give a sounder place to man's reactions to the persuasive.

Long ago Dewey pointed out that a psychology of education must be social psychology, concerned to see how a community develops habits of thought and action. Nothing in the development of the understanding of the educational process has yet arisen to disprove this concept. In its term people are able to understand the issue of human dignity more deeply as it is enmeshed in the living activities of men, rather than as an abstraction. For the quality of man's dignity derives from what he is nurtured to understand and control and given a chance to exercise. Pertinence, thus, is as much a psychological term as it is a social one.

The subject matter of education is the body of knowledge—of ideas, ideals, and of techniques—which characterizes a culture. Meanings, therefore, of these ideas and truths are of a cultural context, in a given time and place. Sometimes conclusions out of one context of investigation are readily applicable to a great many other contexts, although perhaps not in their original form, and certainly never in their particularities. If there is anything at all which modern science and its philosophy have taught, it is that what is transferable from situation to situation is not the particular conclusions but the mode of formulating conclusions into general statements. For example, even so simple a statement as that water boils at 432° Fahrenheit at sea level is a demonstration of how a series of particular activities, manipulations, and observations are given general statement. The statement is true because it refers to a given condition which results when certain states and acts occur. But it is generic in that it includes within itself not single events, but classes or genuses of elements and activities and refers to all of them that are members of the class. Therefore, any valid or true statement becomes a way of organizing new data as a way of seeing into what class they fit so that a newer warranted and dependable conclusion can be drawn. A transmitting of this sort is what goes on in the development of understanding, and therefore if education is to be concerned with understanding truths, it must be concerned especially with the transmission of general statements as well as with the development of the means by which to handle such statements so that they give insight in each new situation.

Now a general, or a generic statement is a true statement because either implicitly or explicitly it sets forth a contest or elements whose character it describes and whose activities it predicts. Thus the notion that water boils at 432° Fahrenheit at sea level is true, for its entails within it all the conditions required for it to be tested as true or false.

But the greatest force of such a statement lies in the activity it leads to when it is remembered and employed. Generic statements are about facts which are established from the observations of experience. They are the record of what happened, in some sort of continuity, that is, from a beginning to an end. A generic statement does not, however, exhaust the future. It does not tell all that can happen. It simply tells what did take place. An education which is concerned with generic statements takes account of history by transmitting as faithfully as possible what has occurred. To say, then, that learning is from the past is simply to say that people collect general statements and use these to handle the new experiences they have. So, to understand and control such an event as the Little Rock incident, a student can turn to history to see what happened when the government sent troops into the South in the past; or to sociology, to see what is said of the role of motivation of prejudice in the lives of individuals; or to psychology, or to economics, or to any field, for the generic statements he can summon to expose possible meanings about this new event and to offer possible directions for its solution.

But there is, obviously, another dimension. There are statements which, though they take account of the past, have a different function; for they tell not what is or could be, but what ought to be. They are value judgments, and they have the specific role of guiding behavior, of setting limits to action of establishing with clarity the moral commitments a group ought to live by. Such statements have been called universal, not because they are applicable to all people at all times, but because they are logical statements which experience cannot refute directly, though they have been drawn up as conclusions about experiences. And with these universals, with these convictions, education must be concerned too, but in a different way than the way it is concerned with the generic. For where the generic states the general record of observed events, the universal has the quality of dedication and obligations. This we ought to do, for it is better to do so.

It is important to note the close relationship, indeed the indissoluble bond between these value commitments, and the psychological orientation of the individuals involved. In fact, a value, internalized, forms the structural base of the psychological set of an individual. And the pattern of an individual is discoverable as being the pattern of value commitments which direct his attention so uniquely as to make him different from all other individuals around him.

In an increasingly complex society, there is often the need to assist men in the reconsideration of their value commitments, that is, in the universals to which they ascribe. In doing so, they are led quite naturally to a reconsideration of the generic data, their organized knowledge of the facts they live by. And a reconsideration, a retesting of the facts, in light of reconstructed values, exposes new possibilities in those very facts. For the way in which facts are organized and given meaning depends on the values one holds. When a man holds identity with God as the sole source of health, then the isolated fact of inoculation may have the meaning of promotion of disease. Under more familiar value beliefs, it means promotion of health.

In brief, man's knowledge, if it is not exhausted by the two kinds of general statements he can make, or has remembered, is almost identical with it. New learning must take account of the identity man comes to reveal between himself as a personality, and the general beliefs which he holds. This seems to be the case with all human beings, but with adults this matter is overwhelmingly complicated, and crucial. The point sums itself up this way: the source of a psychology of education for any learner, if it lies within the learner himself, is to be found in the beliefs, both moral and factual, which he holds and which make up the pattern of his life. It becomes the responsibility, therefore, of an educational program to avoid as much as possible attempting to set up a psychological orientation for the teaching of given adults in advance of their entering the classes. In fact, if the analysis here is valid, what is being called for is the development of an educational psychology of almost infinite flexibility; one which will be in a real sense "tailored" to the individual or to the specific group. The alternative to this is to assume that, since the facts are true in any context, and whether observed or not, there is no need to be concerned with the psychological set of the group, but to demand that students adjust themselves to the truths being exposed to them. When a student fails to see pertinence, and withdraws, he is making an indictment against an inadequate psychology; and the point of withdrawal is the point of admitted failure of the program, for these people have come with sincere and eager intent and have been overlooked under the guise of being considered.

The learning, or the educating process, then, is inherently one of revealing to a learner the contribution that his very existence, with its history, its traditions, its goals, and its curiosity makes to the learning itself, and to the things learned.

B. Now let us turn our attention to the external conditions which serve no less as a source for an adequate educational psychology. It is perfectly true that adults sometimes return to school to satisfy a status need. But it would be needlessly cynical to assign this reason to all. Most people, rather, have needs of a deeper kind. The beliefs one has held seem suddenly to be ineffectual, or no longer understood, or not extensive enough in an expanding world. The knowledge one has seems to be inadequate, and there is need for further learning. All this is but a more detailed way of saving that life has become narrow and unexpectedly confusing. This is but a demonstration that the return to school, the seeking out of more education, is rarely if ever a vaguely generalized need. It derives, rather, from particular problems of particular people. And a program which is instituted must either take account of this situation or become a kind of procrustean bed, with the unfortunate (or is it fortunate?) condition that it has not the power to bind its occupants within it. It hopes simply to hypnotize them into submission.

The state of the world at any time is the primary factor in psychological upheavals which an adult education must confront. The world simply refuses to stay within the bounds of the beliefs we have about it. The condition of increasing mechanization of the most familiar activities are so well known they need no restatement here, even to the matter of cleaning of the city's streets. But what is important is the realization that the values which have guided the behavior of men have all come from a way of living that depends entirely upon man's full-time occupation with the forces around him, but which are less constant than the beliefs about them. Such notions as thrift, and honesty, loyalty, and devotion to one's occupations, to family relationships and to social organizations, the deepest and the broadest convictions by which a society was characterized were all derived from ways men evolved in themselves, to others and to the things about them.

But when such ways change rapidly, they leave all but the most flexible convictions inadequate. The words loyalty, thrift, faith, devotion—all familiar—lose their clarity of meaning in the new conditions being created. When a parent sees his son employ such terms for purposes different from his own, he is destroyed. What does loyalty mean in a world where geographical entity is no longer as distinct as even thirty years ago? Ideas and notions once categorically distinct are now so interlocked that the concept of loyalty, for example, becomes vague. Definitions, both linguistically and geographically, were simpler before communications diminished distances. It was possible to find beginnings and endings, and to be quite sure of what such notions as loyalty or productivity, involving as they did devotion to one's work, meant. But they seem to have lost their pertinent, familiar meanings when men develop the means of increasing production while decreasing their efforts. There was a time when what was valued most in Western man, dignity and independence, came as a reward for long and faithful labor. But where labor is no longer needed the universal values themselves are forced to change, or those who hold them dissolve into the mindlessness which is dogma.

The net result of such shifts as these (it is a fruitful exercise to develop a great catalogue of such sudden disruptions) is to leave men with the promise of immediate dislocations while there is a recognition and readjustment of their beliefs to the changes that relentlessly push themselves in. If automation promises greater wealth and leisure in the future, the anguish brought on by the changes it brings about in the physical and social world is reflected in men's attitude and conduct. For, in the inescapable movement from earlier to later forms of civilization, the behavioral patterns of men who make the decisions that guide the direction of growth need deliberate reconstruction in the light of those external changes. The rush back to the schools, as is evidenced in the rising rolls of adult education centers throughout America, is validation of the conditions, the need for new values, patterns, and control of natural forces which are already vast and impressive.

But the most untenable of all possible attitudes resulting from those changes that have reduced the need for human effort is the notion that what is needed now is "education for leisure." Perhaps so, but the term "leisure" will have to be made much more specific, for it, too, is a term whose meaning is bound to an earlier cultural setting and value system. It invariably meant either the enjoyment of the wealth produced where the production gave stability and a kind of changelessness to society, or release and relaxation from the day's long labor. But in a world where production of wealth creates not stability but accruing and expanding change and growth, the term "leisure" seems to have become archaic. Moreover, work itself is less and less difficult. Even here the notion of sweaty efforts is disappearing. Beyond all else what is needed in the dynamically burgeoning world is not an education to forget, or to fill empty hours, but an education to remain continually appraised of new developments, of changes in the meanings of those ideas which guide our lives, improvements in the ability to think about these increasingly complex affairs. In short, education in such a time must be directed toward the problem of connecting men more securely to the movement of events so they can continue to increase their influences on the direction of change. If people in general cannot participate in setting the direction of change, they will be mastered by those who have set themselves to understanding the technical aspects of an increasingly technical world. New platitudes will comprise education for the masses, for only platitudes will fill the void between orders to respond. The result will be the dissolution of man's potentiality for an ever expanding life. That such conditions are entirely possible is evident in the history of the Germany, Italy, Japan, and Russia of the recent past.

A psychology of adult education must, therefore, be one which is less concerned with soothing the anxieties caused by growth and more with developing in the individual an awareness that mental and emotional health is not a matter of life adjustment that secures the status quo, but of controlling growth in directions the individual himself has helped to fashion. Such an education process has in view the increasing powers both in society, generally, and in individuals in themselves, as well as the place man seeks and is able to occupy. For it is the aim of education to nurture and equip people. This nurturing and equipping is directed toward taking advantage of as many potentialities as possible in man and in the conditions within which he lives. To think that education which ends at college will suffice is to be bound to the discredited psychology that man's mental power reaches a limit according to some inherence theory.

IV. THE EDUCATION OF ADULTS

A. The Source and Organization of Content and Method

The discussion so far gives little promise of revealing a simple, easy road to educational content and method suitable for adults. In seeking a program attuned to respecting the individuality of the learner and dedicated to developing both an awareness of choices and the responsibility and commitment to act upon the choices and evaluate their effects in order to make still other choices, educators find no a priori curriculum conveniently at hand. In the kind of liberal adult education that rests on the theory argued here, there is little certainty, except that of the inevitability of diversity. Where an adult education program sets a priori prescriptions of curriculum to be covered, skills to be attained, and methods of presentation and evaluation to be employed, the inevitable diversities embodied within students and by the changing course of the times are commonly viewed as distractions. Whatever merit there is to these diversities, education requires they be overcome by the application of scholastic discipline. In the view of adult education espoused here, the diversity among students and within the changing scene is part of the content and method of learning.

The developing activities of the adult class must be pertinent to the students' need, on the one hand, to be aware of the complexities of self and of their time, and of their need on the other hand to give direction to their time. For a class to have this pertinence, there are definite limits to the extent to which an instructor can be assured in advance that what he says and what he concerns himself with will have meaning to the adults he has not yet met. He can, of course, generalize upon past experience; and if he has a fair degree of sensitivity and imagination, he may have certain reasonable expectations for recurring patterns of reactions and human relations. But if he wishes the work he is to guide to have pertinence for the student, he must first make it possible for each student to make himself known. This process of making the student known has several aspects, all part of one interrelated whole. Objectively, it is necessary for the instructor to give each student the opportunity to reveal, in relation to the general subject of the course, what his particular problems or concerns or intentions may be, however unclear or clear he may be about these problems, and in so doing, to reveal something of his background, his prior knowledge, and his skills in relation to the subject. And as each student reveals himself, he communicates not only to the instructor, but to his fellow students as well, and the communal aspect of learning is thereby undertaken. Finally, there is the most intimate subjective aspect of them all: with the necessity of giving expression to his own needs, aspirations, achievements, shortcomings, the student has begun the process of identifying himself in terms of his complexities. In making himself known to others, he becomes more conscious of himself and what he is involved with.

In a class, for instance, on such a general subject as The United States in Foreign Affairs, an instructor may assume some general interest in the subject on the part of every student. The extent of the students' interest, however, the amount of prior knowledge of the particular data, the experience with people of foreign background, in foreign lands, the degree of sophistication in considering problems of international relations, the ethical and emotional commitments to ideals of peace, patriotism, inter-faith and inter-racial understanding, the preconceived opinions, notions, prejudices about other lands and peoples, all these and many more pertinent revelations, the instructor cannot know unless opportunity is provided for the students to make them known. To be sure, some of these concerns and experiences will be revealed gradually as the work of the course proceeds, but without some initial basis of individual and communal identification of background, purpose, interest, and need, little significant learning can develop. As identification proceeds, planning has already begun. In fact, the activity of identifying is the process of planning. Students may be found to be first-generation immigrants with first-hand knowledge of people and lands in current international controversy; some may have traveled extensively, or have access to friends who have; some may be conspicuously well-read in the subject. Whatever the background, in themselves the students all are potentially valuable resources. Interests and concerns with international relations may vary from the casual to the intense, from sensation-seeking to the closest emotional identification, from the fear-ridden to the determinedly hopeful, from the fatalistically resigned to the aggressively missionary—all must be brought to expression in all their diversity, before a common search for fact, opinion, and ideals can be undertaken. Liberal education for adults begins, then, neither with the subject, nor with the student, but with the way they come together in individual expression and revelation.

If this principle is accepted, then certain organizational, curricular, and methodological implications emerge. The examples that follow, taken from the experience of three years' explorations in one institution, are embodiments of the principles expounded here. Emphatically they are not offered as the only proper framework of a sound program. They represent the way which seemed to recommend itself in one particular academic community of students and teachers motivated by the philosophical, educational, and psychological principles discussed above. In any case, since any such program is committed to the developmental integration of three primary diversities—the individual, the interactive group, and the present and future course of modern life, any attempt to lay down strict precepts would violate the very convictions upon which the program was founded. This caution should be kept constantly in mind in considering the illustrations that follow. They are illustrations, and are presented to illustrate a concept of adult education.

If the individual is to become identified to the instructor, to his fellows, and to himself, he must be given opportunities for expression. This need suggests the method of the informal, exploratory conversation pursued seminar-fashion in groups of, say, no more than 20 to 25, and so directed by the instructor as to put each participant at his ease. But conversation must be conversation about something, and the group members must have a purpose or theme which brings them together and which provides them with an initial focus. "Values Men Live By," "Man and His Behavior," "The United States in International Affairs," "The World of the Artist," "Frontiers of Science," are some of the themes which may well prove to be sufficiently current to offer to a great number of adults opportunity for engaging in fresh inquiry. The important thing is that all subjects, as themes for adult seminars, must have certain basic characteristics. As they are organized, they must be timely, challenging in their initial impact (or adults will not be attracted to them in the first place), and they must be cast into such problematic forms as will be sufficiently broad to permit opportunity for development, not only by one but by all members of each group according to their own concerns. Furthermore, the themes must embody areas significant and vital enough to be the proper subject of adult investigation in an atmosphere of cooperative learning. And they must be cast into so flexible a form that each student sees, in the generalized area, opportunity for his own involvements. By being most generally applicable, they have the greatest potential of being individually pertinent, but, it must continually be emphasized, it is the pertinence to the individual and to his time that is of prime concern. This concern is at variance with that of the perennialists in education who look to the Great Books as the most proper subject-matter of liberal education. Their assumption is that there exist Great Works which by themselves are the embodiment of Great Ideas and that they are individually pertinent. Reading and consideration of them will direct man to a richer, wiser life. The process of learning becomes one of total immersion of self into the mind and work of the author, and a partaking, by contagion as it were, of perennial truth or of perennial problems. Such immersion, however, is appropriate only to the mystic and to the academic scholar, the former seeking a self beyond his own individuality, and the latter seeking to add to the recorded store of history. In the liberal education here envisioned, however, the work, great or not as it may be, is employed only when and to the extent that it applies to the problem under consideration. John Stuart Mill's On Liberty, Machiavelli's The Prince, may conceivably come under analysis in a class on Government and the Individual, but only when and to the extent that either of these works will illuminate, say, the general problem of freedom vs. authority as it is being felt by the student group either in some present application or probable future one. The material to be studied does not have justification per se, but it is the instrument used for the analysis of a problem by students for whom the whole activity has immediate pertinence. The process begins and ends with the student, except that the student who has completed the process is expected to feel himself wiser than he was at the beginning, and, if the process was really successful, all the more eager to see further.

The nature of student involvement in this type of learning activity will bear further analysis. At some point, the direction of conversation can move from the recital of individual concerns to the consideration by the group of concerns common to its entire membership. It is in this process of gaining individual involvement in group interests, not only without loss of individuality, but with the gain of individuality at another level, that the most rewarding, if the most difficult, challenge in this type of learning lies. Not only must each individual in some significant measure feel that the emerging concern of the group is his own concern as well, but he needs to feel that he has contributed by his engagement to its emergence.

Some illustrations from experience may help to clarify this aspect of the problem. A seminar on "Values Men Live By," in mid-semester at this writing, began with each participant giving a short account of himself for purposes of preliminary identification. With the question "Why are each of you here; what do you expect to gain from this seminar?" responded to at varying length by each member, the exploratory conversation got under way. Concerns were of many kinds, from the conventionally academic—the simply expressed desire to learn more about philosophy—to the highly personal—the feeling of increasing insecurity about oneself as one grows older. A contrast emerged between former contentment about the way life is shaping up and the uncertainty of present discontent. Some students were concerned most about what they considered to be symptoms of declining morality, others, parents of teen-agers, were concerned about losing contact with their children and being confronted with a consequent deterioration of behavior. As the conversation progressed, it became increasingly evident that the individuals and their varying concerns were drawing closer and closer together. It seemed as though each individual contribution quite naturally began to fit into a larger common whole. Eventually one of the students remarked that the group seemed to be talking in different ways about a general concern they all shared. This remark gave the instructor opportunity to propose a common task for the group's consideration. Since a strong feeling of kinship and interest seemed to have emerged, the instructor suggested that it sould be in the interest of becoming familiar with one another's ideals and values, for each member to attempt to express the values he lives by, as well as to identify, where possible, situations where currently held values seem inadequate or ambiguous. Where a group accepts such a task, a series of introspective presentations follow naturally. In practice some interesting difficulties soon become apparent, however. The first ventures at introspection offered by the group mentioned above turned out to be halting, self-conscious affairs despite extremely supportive encouragement by the members. In analyzing their difficulties, the members realized that no one in the group was ready to achieve an objective presentation of his own subjective values. Self-consciousness at baring what had hitherto been an unexpressed, private matter, inability to put into words what seemed to be a kind of general feeling rather than something that lent itself readily to description, difficulty in identifying what constitutes a value, and above all making a judgment as to whether one is really living by a value or merely paying it lip-service were some of the major difficulties presented. The exchange itself, however, as the opening phase of inquiry, set up the next step as a common venture. It became evident that there was a need to postpone self-analysis in favor of attempting to discover precisely what constitutes a value, how a value comes to be, what force it has, how it is to be identified, and how changed. We will return to this aspect shortly, for it represents an important dimension of the educational thesis presented here. For the moment it is worth going on to point out that much understanding about the nature and development of values was done, not as abstract analysis, but out of a consideration of more objective data such as an analysis of the value system of someone well known—a close friend perhaps. These presentations proved to be much less self-conscious, and much more satisfactory in presenting case studies, as it were, of values as revealed in behavior and personality. As with any people applying themselves to the unfamiliar, the group members soon became aware of limitations, and the genuinely instructive aspect of the class became clearer. Ideas of value were presented in objective examples provided by novels. Several members of the group were reading a current bookclub selection, Cozzen's By Love Possessed, whose main character immediately became the subject of analysis and an example of the value theories under discussion. Soon, other novels were mentioned as being relevant to a consideration of values, and presently every member of the group was reading and reporting on at least one novel of some stature, such as By Love Possessed, Camus' The Fall, Santayana's The Last Puritan, Melville's Moby Dick, and Marquand's Sincerely, Willis Wayde. As the group became increasingly sophisticated, the instructor was able to function primarily as a resource for the identification of philosophical concepts and the proper use of philosophical terminology. When the members of the group asked the instructor for a systematic presentation of some of the major contemporary philosophies and current value systems, an additional level of inquiry came naturally into existence. To establish continuity between the aspect of inquiry already undertaken and the new one chosen, the group made use of the literary characters previously discussed. In any program of the kind described here, the course which subsequent sessions would take would not be fully clear in advance. But the program rationale sould suggest that some attempt be made to return to the personal level with which the course began, for in that way the concerns of individuals would be revealed as having wider and wider connections with the thoughts and experiences of others, in other times and places.

Another similar group of adults began its conversations very much in the way already described, but with quite different results. Perhaps because one member approached every problem from the point of view of religious orthodoxy, this group decided to examine value as it became apparent in religious experience and growth and embarked on a study of the major religions of the modern world. This group read and analyzed for their structurings of value systems the Old Testament, the New Testament, portions of the Mohammedan Koran, and the Bhagavadgita of India.

No two of the eight different groups pursuing their studies under the theme "Values Men Live By" covered the same aspect of the subject or read the same sources as they progressed in their inquiry and study. Undoubtedly, similarities in content must appear in time, but these will be similarities that the group itself has willed and accepted as its own, not ones that have been imposed upon them.

An astonishing diversity of method has been characteristic of the program thus far. The Values seminars, two examples of which we have just described, have employed conversations, directed discussions, individual and panel presentations, even formal lectures. A seminar on "The World of the Artist" visited practicing artists in their studios. One seminar on the "Theatre Today" preferred to stage its own informal readings of plays; another on the same subject sought to delve behind the scenes by watching professional rehearsals and inviting directors, scenic-designers, playwrights, and actors to speak to them. A group on "Man and His Behavior" employed the psychodrama to reveal types of behavior; another on the same subject preferred a more conventional approach based on discussions and reading. In each case, however, the members, as individuals engaged in a communal enterprise, participated not only in the carrying out of the activity but in its determination and planning.

As examples of basic principles in adult education these illustrations serve a useful purpose. But they must be seen as illustrations only, lest they tend to channel future educational ventures into paths that are not pertinent to the requirements of given groups of adults. The educational ideal of community (with its concomitants of shared planning and learning) and of pertinence (with its initial emphasis on problems of current concern to the participating member) must color and give direction to any endeavor, whatever its particular content and organization may turn out to be.

The important thing to observe, however, is the way in which natural growth and selection take place. Work begins with a consideration of what is pertinent to each person involved. From here, growth is in direction of critical grasp of the leading and illuminating principles of some subject area, in the form of the propositions. In tool fashion, these are used to probe the unfamiliar. Finally, a further level of study emerges—a full-scale examination of data (including both thematic materials and concerns pertinent to the members), and the choice of a specific problem for inquiry. In the seminars on Values, one group examined religion, another, theories of life from Plato to Fromm, a third, values inherent in communism and democracy. In each seminar, the materials presented and the matters discussed continued to be of concern to all the members because each second level of study grew out of each primary consideration. Hence a continuity of learning was assured.

It will be well to consider what chances for further development lie open to a student at the semester's end. Say that he has in the main been satisfied with his experience and wished to continue. If he chooses to explore a new field, and as a graduate of the Values seminar seeks admittance to a seminar in "The World of the Poet," or "The United States in Foreign Affairs," the chances of his duplicating his learning seem to be quite remote. As long as seminars in various fields continue to be available, a student can pursue his catholicity of interest with little fear of repetitiveness in content. Suppose, however, he wishes to continue in a field in which he has already been a seminar member. Should he be encouraged to re-register in the same seminar, with a different group of students, some new and some fellow graduates of a previous version? Unless one were to sacrifice the principle that requires student participation in the determination of content, one cannot very well establish the kind of content sequences that characterize formal education programs. Indeed, in some fields in which there is a constantly changing contemporary aspect, such content sequences would seem to be contra-indicated. In fact, any educational program faces the issue of what are the bases on which it is ever possible to establish permanent sequence of content. It would be strange, for example, if in such fields as foreign affairs or science in the modern world, current developments would not strongly determine any given seminar choice of subject. A science seminar meeting in 1956 reflected in its study activities the common contemporary concern with peacetime uses of atomic energy; in the spring of 1958 a similar group would almost certainly wish to delve into the question of earth satellites and their implications for warfare and the possibility of space travel. Similarly, it is conceivable that successive seminars interested in foreign affairs could, in their natural preoccupation with the current state of the world, move from one currently significant area to the next, since there is enough that is now at any given time in an era of rapid, troubled, international change to make for a long series of non-duplicating subjects for study. One might be tempted to contend, therefore, that at least in fields that are closely tied to contemporary events, the establishment of sequences—the building of one course on the content of the preceding one—is unnecessary. Connections are natural and open to the searching eyes of the thoughtful students.

There is, however, another and more crucial aspect of the problem —the growth of the student, especially in his ability to work with others in the way distinctive to the type of learning organization described and to develop techniques of investigation and understanding so as to become increasingly able to pursue his inquiries out of self-direction. Experience thus far has seemed to demonstrate that first groups in any given area tend to give more emphasis to essentially exploratory activities than do groups whose members have already had one semester's experience in the general subject area. Second groups come to decisions faster, demonstrate greater command of the language and concepts of the field under study, and are, therefore, more skilled in discussion and analysis than first-semester groups. This facility has been demonstrated to be particularly true in areas such as philosophy and psychology, and is suspected to be true equally in the arts—fields in which the growing power and insight of the student would seem to require the establishing of some kind of sequential course levels, based not on content, but on levels of student experience. It would seem to be indicated, therefore, that in any given field, a primary and at least a secondary level of student grouping is required, the first reserved for students who are making their first ventures in the field within this program, and the second for those who have completed a first-level seminar in the field. It is conjectured that with enough challenging fields available to the adult in such a program, the tendency will be stronger, in the case of students who are stimulated beyond a casual, one-time experience, to explore several fields than to delve into a given field to a depth beyond that afforded by two levels of seminars.

To what extent should an attempt be made to achieve a degree of homogeneity of grouping at the first level? Should criteria for entry in a given first level group be established in terms of educational background, for example? At the outset it should be evident that the establishment of a priori criteria for entry is contradictory to the logic as well as the spirit of this theory of adult education. In any event, the form of any program fashioned on the basis of such educational views, if clearly stated in a prospectus, and reinforced through personal advisement at the time of registration, tends to be self-selective, at least in terms of interest, and to some extent, in terms of willingness to be more than a spectator in the course. It must be kept in mind, however, that the kind of liberal adult education sought here thrives on diversity of background, and it is this diversity that brings added color and promise to the activities of each group. Where it is important that the intellectual curiosity of the participants be high (and what educational activity can succeed where it is not?) self-selection is a powerful instrument. Ultimately, the product of the stimulation afforded by the activities of the course itself is not something that can be reduced to or expressed in terms of formal admission criteria. Experiences with at least one possible establishment of the theory over a period of three years have revealed that the lack of such criteria for entry was never a problem of any proportion.

In the competitive society formed by academic traditions, evaluation finds formal expression in a system of examinations, grades, credits culminating in requirements for a diploma or degree symbolizing the completion of a program of studies. Whatever the merits of this system may be in the case of full-time education for youth and even in the case

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of vocational and professional education for adults, they seem to be totally alien to the spirit and purpose of liberal education for adults. A liberal program designed for adults who are motivated by a need for further intellectual, spiritual, and social growth should carry its own reward. Libraries, theatres, museums, art galleries, and concert halls offer no irrelevant stimuli or marks of recognition to their patrons. It would be strange indeed if subscribers to lecture, opera, and drama series were offered certificates of completion as lures to their continuing support and interest. Is it not just as alien to expect extrinsic rewards for pursuing learning centered in the adult university classroom?

To be sure, the concert hall, the theatre, the museum, are places for a learning activity in which the individual is not required to involve himself beyond the level of spectatorship; the classroom, on the other hand, should be so organized as to promote individual participation and the development of self-conscious individual growth. Evaluation, as a means of appraising the degree and the extent both of individual growth and of the success of any activity in promoting such growth, is inescapably an intrinsic part of a school-centered organization of learning, and it is not necessarily a part of those cultural events organized on a spectatorship basis. To be effective, however, the evaluation must be truly intrinsic—a built-in characteristic of the learning organization itself, not an arbitrary series of appendages attached from without. The credit system, the practice of assigning grades, the award of diplomas, certificates, degrees, all these seem inappropriate to the concept of a liberal adult learning concerned to re-examine the basic knowledge and values that guide living.

In a very real sense, a learning organization that begins with the student and builds him into the educational process as an active, volitional participant is in itself an application of the evaluative process. The individual is required to engage in the process of continuing self-assessment in giving expression to his interests, in discovering the nature and quality of his intellectual equipment, and in sharing in the determination of his immediate and long-range aspirations as these take new form in light of new, immediate discoveries.

The measure of his success in achieving growth in this process of learning lies within himself, in the satisfactions that he himself feels. His achievement is not pitted against that of his fellow-students, as in many academic learning organizations, but is weighed against his own abilities and aspirations in view of the problems he is seeking new light on. To put it baldly, the adult student marks his own examination papers. His achievement is not, however, a purely individualistic process, for in this type of adult learning, the ideal of community represents both means and end for individual growth. The evolving activities of the group, as they grow out of individual concerns emerging into group concerns, are, at their best, embodiments of the evaluative process as well. The evaluative questions—"What do we need to know in order to understand the problem?" "What have we learned?" "What does it do to my beliefs?" "Where do we go from here?" "How do we know it's true?"—are characteristic of this kind of learning organization. To be sure, the process is not readily conducive to the application of statistical measures. The degree of success might better be judged on the basis of such anecdotal devices as informal conversations and discussions, and individual testimonials specifically directed to the questions of the worthwhileness of the work in which each participant was engaged, reinforced perhaps by diaries, or minutes of current proceedings or retrospective summaries of conclusions drawn, activities pursued, books read, etc.

In three years of experimentation with adult seminars at Queens, serving an adult student body of roughly 300 persons, not a single voice was heard in favor of bringing these activities into the formal "credit" category. And in spite of the fact that these seminars proved by their very nature to be most demanding of the students' time, attention, and active intellectual participation, all but one (and this exception was an obvious failure) maintained their registers to the end of the semester. some actually ended with more than the number with which they began, when the instructor acceded to the request of some of the students to be allowed to bring guests.

The writers of this paper have attempted thus far to describe a content and method of liberal education appropriate to the intellectually curious adult living in a changing world. The program described embodies the following features in summary: (1) It begins with the student and builds him into the process as a participant in both planning and execution of learning activities. (2) Its content is flexible within a broad, problem-centered framework, and as such, it begins with contemporary concerns. (3) It is organized, in essence, in small seminar groupings to allow for maximum individual participation. (4) It is non-sequential in its course organization as far as subject-matter is concerned, and it is sequential in student grouping only to the extent that a distinction can be made between a first, essentially exploratory, level, and subsequent second levels for those who pursue concrete issues raised in the first. (5) It employs no extrinsic evaluative devices, being clearly in the "no credit" category, but seeks to incorporate evaluation as an intrinsic part of its method and substance. All these programmatic steps are based on the predicate that more is available to adults than they are enjoying at the moment.

B. The Teaching Aspect

What about the teacher and his task of providing the type of leadership this kind of education demands? His role is certainly not that of any podium-enthroned dispenser of wisdom and assigner of tasks. He is dealing with adults who must be assumed to be his social equals and with whom he works on a level of mutual respect. (As a matter of fact, the teacher of adults quite frequently finds himself in the company of students older than himself, in professions at least the equal of his own in remuneration, prestige, levels of preparation and intellectual demands.) His leadership will not be recognized and accepted automatically simply because he is listed as the teacher, but it must be earned as any position of leadership is earned in a communal venture. It is a healthful exercise in humility for a teacher to reflect upon the undeniable fact that each of his students could in some way be his teacher. Quite obviously the physician could teach him medicine, the accountant bookkeeping, the artist painting, the mechanic how to repair his car, and the housewife how to maintain a home. Less obviously, but undeniably, there is in the experience and achievement of every person some knowledge or experience that could place him as teacher to others. To the extent that his particular skill, knowledge, and experience is desired by another, and he is ready and able to impart it, he is a teacher. Unfortunately, in the didactic tradition of the classroom, buttressed by the discipline of academic authority, the role of the teacher, however benevolently conceived, tends to become fixed along lines of authority, with the learner as subject. In a program organized along communal lines, however, educational leadership, while undeniably the function of the one defined by position as teacher, will be shared in various ways and in differing degree by those enrolled as learners, depending on the emerging interplay of function as the communally planned activities develop. The role of the professional teacher is to provide the primary impetus to guide wherever and whenever guidance is needed and to provide resources of knowledge and wisdom as they become pertinent. And in this role, the teacher of adults must earn the acceptance of his students. His authority cannot be imposed upon them; to attempt such an imposition is a self-defeating futility; the students will simply, and quite properly, discontinue attendance. What they seek is the authority of wisdom, not that of an individual representing status.

The value of this kind of adult education rests directly and focally upon the attitude which the teacher brings into the classroom. He must come fully prepared to be as much an inquirer at his own level into whatever area is being investigated as his students are at theirs. And this readiness to be both teacher and learner must be reflected and communicated in the kind of leadership he exercises. When the student becomes aware that the teacher differs from him in the matter of degree, rather than of kind, and that the teacher is as concerned as he is to learn more of the problems common to both (although each will learn from his own vantage point and with his own equipment) then the student will be eager to devote time and energy to a genuinely coordinated and cooperative venture.

A primary qualification for the good teacher of adults—or of children for that matter—is his sensitivity to his students. Specifically, the teacher needs to be continuously concerned with the degree to which individual students are involved in class activity and aware of the kind of contribution they are making. Admittedly, there is nothing in the art of teaching more difficult to achieve than this kind of sensitivity or than the ability to put it to good use in guiding the learners. In fulfilling his function, the teacher will disseminate information, to be sure, but as only a small part of his responsibility. His major role will be to assist his students in a continuing process of self-realization and self-development, a process successful only to the degree that the individual becomes progressively less dependent upon outside direction. Since, among adults, it is likely that the degree of initial dependence upon didactic direction will vary widely from individual to individual, the instructor needs to be particularly sensitive to variations in student interest and experience, and particularly alert to encourage and assist each individual, according to his need, to achieve greater self-direction. The fact that this guiding of individual growth is pursued, not in the privacy of a tutorial, but in a group setting, makes the task of educational leadership increasingly complex, and at the same time, more challenging. Essentially, the teaching and learning problem is one of achieving individual growth through active participation in a group process. The learner is expected to grow in power through interactive communication with his peers. Far from losing himself in the group, as does the spectator in a political rally or in a football game, he is expected to find himself through the necessity of action and reaction in a community of inquiring minds. The instructor's function as guide in this process requires an alert, responsive leadership of infinite flexibility. Deliberately self-effacing at times, actively directive at others, he must nevertheless at all times have command of the situation.

We have seen how vital to his success as a leader is the instructor's knowledge of the student and his developing role as a participant in the process of group inquiry. Of equal importance, and wedded to the whole as are the elements to a compound, is his command of the fields of knowledge that may come under inquiry. Unable to count on the comforting confines of a pre-conceived syllabus and a series of familiar prescribed readings or a textbook, his resources must be as wide and as deep as the developing tasks of each class dictate, and they must be available as needed. In the example of the seminars on Values already mentioned, a professional knowledge of philosophy was an obvious requirement for the instructor. His knowledge, however, had to be pertinent and responsive to discussions about contemporary schools of philosophical thought, the philosophy of ethics, the nature of major religions and their philosophical implications, and the reflection of philosophical value systems in selected works of fiction. The professor of chemistry who led the seminars on science, while disclaiming any expert's knowledge in fields other than the physical sciences, nevertheless found himself more and more immersed in problems of social science, as his group became increasingly preoccupied with the social implications of scientific progress.

While it is idle folly to require of an instructor the universality of preparation and interest of a Leonardo or a Goethe (What seminar leaders they would have made!), a measure of breadth in preparation, of catholicity of interest, of willingness to delve afield and continue learning is required. In a word, the best teacher of adults for the type of program discussed here is himself a vibrant and communicative example of the liberally educated man. Ideally, the community of learners in individual seminars should find its counterpart in a community of seminar leaders. Periodic meetings of the leaders can serve at least a twofold purpose. In bringing together professors trained variously in the natural sciences, in the social sciences, and in the humanities, they can provide inter-disciplinary resources often needed when a given seminar probes beyond the primary field of the instructor. Help may take the form simply of an interchange of sources to be consulted, or of points of knowledge to be cleared through verbal consultation. Sometimes it may result in guest appearances, where a seminar is visited by a colleague of the instructor. Or joint meetings of seminars under dual leadership may take place, when two of the seminars are considering problems that overlap. The first times dual seminars were tried—with two joint meetings of a seminar on The World of the Artist and one on the United States in Foreign Affairs* the experiment was so successful that schedules of different seminars were so arranged as to facilitate joint meetings whenever desirable.

Further values to be found in such communities of seminar leaders would lie in opportunities to compare the course and progress of the various seminars, to consider problems of method, and to benefit from one another's experience. The tradition that a professor's classroom is his castle, which no one may invade and which no one may open to view is in direct contradiction to the spirit of the kind of program under discussion. Such a program requires, instead, a continuing shared preoccupation of the staff with the ways in which the work is progressing and with the problems of educational leadership as they arise in course. A community of leaders provides a means, too, for initiating a new instructor into the spirit and method of the program, both before he meets his class and during the course of his first semester as a seminar leader.

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*These two fields, so different at first glance, yielded a wealth of common problems to the searching probe of adult seminarians—the artist in the service of the state, art as propaganda, art as reflection of national characteristics, art as communication beyond national and cultural boundaries, etc.

Any program of adult education that is learning-centered (to get away from that fruitless battleground of the student-centered vs. the content-centered curriculum) must provide a continuing means of evaluation of the quality of the learning it produces. Just as self-criticism, evaluative analysis of what has been accomplished, becomes an integral part of the class work itself, so a similar imperative holds true of the teaching performance of the professional staff with its obligation of developing and maintaining an imaginative, flexible, and responsive leadership. Unfortunately, it is not a commonly accepted professional requirement for the professor in higher education to concern himself more than casually with his own teaching performance; it is even less accepted that he concern himself with that of his colleagues. All the more reason, then, for those wishing to become a part of this kind of venture in liberal education, to see the necessity of concerning themselves individually, and in a mutually helpful association with their colleagues, in the continuing problems of seminar leadership and in the development of the skills and procedures necessary to solving these problems. An association of instructors in a leadership seminar is seen therefore as a necessary adjunct to the seminar program itself, as it undoubtedly is in any program of liberal adult education that is built along developing, rather than rigidly predetermined lines.

The program outlined is not for the uninspired, routine practitioner in higher education, especially the one who views teaching as a secondary adjunct to his professional life. It offers an ever fresh and refreshing experience in stimulating inquiry. It requires a willingness to work on a level of intellectual intimacy with adults of diverse backgrounds, convictions, and character, on problems close to their needs and interests, in a way that will help them grow individually and collectively. It needs teachers who are themselves anxious to learn, and who conceive of teaching as an art both stimulating and demanding, that requires as much learning and yields as much satisfaction as any other.

V. IN TENTATIVE CONCLUSION

In closing, the writers feel it would be contrary to the spirit and applications of the ideals of liberal adult education herein presented to give an impression of finality. Any program like this one discussed must remain pliable and responsive to experience. Participants, both students and faculty, must feel at home in the promise as well as amid the uncertainties of a program with open horizons. For whenever groups of people get together in the exercise of communal intellectual inquiry, there is no certainty except that things will change for them; the quality of inquiry will determine whether the certainty of change will be ennobled by the attainment of growth.

For all of its built-in diversities, however, the Queens program does have basic philosophical and psychological constants. One might be called *the ideal of community*. It determines the spirit and the nature of student-faculty learning groups, with all sharing in the determination, planning, and execution of tasks of inquiry. The other, *the ideal of pertinence*, provides that the present concerns of the participants shall activate and characterize the content and course of learning.

In organization, as well as in concept, there is danger of falling into the trap of institutional prescription and pre-determination. A program of this kind thrives on administrative flexibility. Excursions to museums, theatres, concert halls, art galleries, appearances by guest lecturers and performing artists, discussants; large and small group meetings, workshops, conferences; all these and many more can find a place in this kind of program. Here too, however, there is a constant, an organizational constant, in keeping with the philosophical constant of community and the psychological constant of pertinence. At the organizational core of this program there seems to be no alternative to the relatively small learning group conducted seminar-fashion by a professionally trained leader. This belief, at least, is the authors' conviction, based on the three years' experience in one institution with about a score of such groups, enrolling a total of about three hundred adults, with a professional staff of about a dozen.

The original ideal of the university—Universitas Studiorum et Scholarium—a community of students and teachers, has seldom been attained in the history of higher education, especially as institutional prescriptions and academic conventions inevitably obscured the light of original inspiration. Liberal adult education, with no need to follow the patterns made rigid by custom, has the opportunity to strike out anew in a spirit truly liberal and truly adult. The ideas and program as they are developing in the Queens Seminars for Adults are offered as an essay in that direction.

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HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION: ITS PLACE AND ITS FUNCTION

by

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Social Research

CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF LIBERAL EDUCATION FOR ADULTS

November 1959

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PRINTED IN U.S.A.

PREFACE

The New School for Social Research has been examining and practicing principles of liberal adult education for forty years. Our Center has been in the process of trying to define, to describe and expand the offerings in higher adult education throughout the country for less than ten years.

As a junior in the field we are happy to salute two major architects of higher adult education—Alvin Johnson, President Emeritus, and Hans Simons, retiring president, of the New School. This paper was presented by Hans Simons on the occasion of the Fortieth Anniversary of the New School as well as on Alvin Johnson's eighty-fifth birthday.

As a junior in the field we envy the New School its vitality and its gift of continuing youth and exploration. It serves as a well conceived example of higher education acting as a force to maintain youth of ideas, vitality of spirit and courage of convictions.

We believe that Alvin Johnson's stimulating and pithy introduction and Simons' incisive and learned analysis of the place and function of higher adult education will make a most important contribution to the continuing discourse about higher and liberal adult education.

A. A. Liveright, Director
The Center for the Study of Liberal
Education for Adults

October, 1959

INTRODUCTION

In the days when the New School for Social Research was young we had the good fortune of a visit from H. G. Wells, novelist, historian, and cyclopaedia of good advice.

Wells didn't like our name. What is new gets old too soon. Research: the world is afflicted with too much research. Our proper title should incorporate the newly formed phrase, Adult Education, which had become widely current in England, under the inspiration of Mansbridge.

Nor did Wells approve our objective, to teach maturely educated men and women to know their times. This is a democratic age, Wells affirmed. The problem of today is the education of the common people. Radio offers an opportunity to reach the millions. We should cut out our research idea and draw together the kind of scholars who could speak to the millions.

"There is only one, H. G.," I said. "He is H. G. Wells. If we went over to your idea of adult education, would you come over and join our Faculty?"

"Ask me," he said. But we didn't.

We were agreed, in no circumstance would we admit the word "education" into our title. We were indeed educators, passionate educators. But in those primitive days official education was sucking at the dry paps of what was then known as education philosophy. It was a grab-bag including DeTocqueville's conception of democracy, fortified by sundry European aristocratic observations. It included a misconceived Deweyite conception of the educational primacy of action. It included the funeste Herbert Spencer notion that the prolongation of childhood is the index of cultural advance.

We'd have none of this philosophy. To us democracy is a free system in which each tree grows as tall as it can, and those caring nothing for height could spread as widely as possible, recumbent over the ground. We were not interested in education for the "common people." The very conception of "common people," a European class conception, was alien to us. We greatly preferred the Shakespearian conception, "the general" including everybody.

As for research, we had no idea that we could draw the intelligent layman into research laboratories. But we knew that perhaps the most intelligent laymen were to be found at Woods Hole, where they were meeting and associating with scholars wholly absorbed in research, natural scholars like Chaucer's "Old Scholere, Gladly wold he lerne and gladly teche." We meant to develop a research faculty as soon as we could, to offer our adult students the thrill of sitting in on original thinking. For that the "University in Exile" was, as it were, made to order.

We detested the Spencerian conception of the "prolongation of childhood." What we believed in was the moving downward of the conception of adulthood. We did not know then, nor do we know yet, how early a young person should be treated as an adult, with adult responsibility and the respect that goes with responsibility. We do note with satisfaction that in the youth camps boys are treated as men. You will hear a director addressing a group of eight year olds. "Men, go back and get on your sweaters." You'll note that they get them on promptly, right side out.

The New School recognizes its obligation, when it can afford it, to set up an adult four year undergraduate course, where teen agers may be men and women and adult educators may come closer to the real problems of education. It is a bold idea, someone may say. The New School has occasionally accepted adolescents of age sixteen and under. They have proved no problem to us or to themselves.

It is time for American educators to learn that democratic education must learn to co-ordinate, in one body, graduate and adult and undergraduate instruction, in intimate and fruitful association.

Alvin Johnson, President Emeritus
The New School

September 29, 1959

HIGHER ADULT EDUCATION: ITS PLACE AND ITS FUNCTION

Hans Simons

Today, education is one of the most discussed topics. But somehow quantity and quality seem to be inversely related. As one listens one has an experience reminiscent of a mass meeting: the greater the volume of the loud speaker the more blurred the torrent of words. This lack of distinctiveness is one of the main reasons, it seems to me, for the unsatisfactory results. One cannot make much sense talking of education in general or treating it out of its context in time and place, or unrelated to age groups in specific societies and civilizations.

The same is true of the innumerable attempts at a helpful definition. What the word means if translated from the Latin, how it differs from pedagogy, whether the corresponding words in other languages are really comparable—all this does not help much. Nor is it fruitful to follow the changing usage through the ages; even today "to educate" is still properly used in lieu of "to train" animals. The more generally conceived, the more vaguely education has to be defined, with the inevitable result that each defining term is in urgent need of being defined in turn.

"The definition of the purpose is an inevitable step from the definition of the word itself," says T. S. Eliot. As a matter of fact, most definitions take this second step at once. And again the attempt to cover everything that goes under the name "education" leads in all directions but mostly nowhere. "Education is the acquisition of the art of the utilization of knowledge," according to Whitehead (who is responsible for his style). It is supposed to enable us "to consolidate emotion with thought and faith with reason," as a contemporary practitioner sees it. To me this does not mean a thing except a banal phrase. "The young man, the subject of education, is a certain form of energy: the object to be gained is the economy of this force." This sounds like a modern efficiency expert, but it is Henry Adams. I could go on and on; however, these samples have some bearing on my thesis. I chose them because I start, as they do, from certain premises:

1. Education is more than the acquisition of knowledge.
2. It is an enterprise where other human resources are related to, not excluded by intelligence.
3. It is an attempt to re-arrange and re-direct energies, both within the individual and within society.

Let me add one more statement that has the merit of being profound, precise and true as far as it goes—and to which I shall return later: "Education consists of a methodical socialization of the young generation," according to Emile Durkheim. Needless to say, he does not mean the submersion of the individual.

From all this one sees the advantage of being specific. One can be so only through limitation and elimination. I am not dealing with all civilizations but only with ours, not in its historic development but as it is now. Even from this narrow field I exclude the young and the adolescent and their educational needs, whatever they may be, and I do not trouble about what for them is training, instruction or information, important though these levels and terms are. And when it comes to the purpose implied in each of these words, it would be easier to write another book than to formulate another paragraph that contributes anything to the unending debate about liberal education, professional training, specialized higher studies for the professions, and their respective places in the educational system, quite aside from the question whether emphasis should be on the individual or on his society, and whether nowadays this society is primarily his community, his nation, or the world.

One would have to answer all these questions before he can justify any particular preference, be it education for community participation or for world citizenship, turning the baby barbarian into civilized modern man, indoctrinating the mind for the sake of a supposed "ethos" of society, or elevating the soul to the alleged heights of do-gooders, reformers, or revolutionaries.

All this can be left where it is without further station identification. As one focuses on adult education, the trouble starts all over again. The term covers everything that is said to have some educational effect where adults are involved. It is being applied to all types of community action as well as to every conceivable kind of "how to" courses, from cosmetics to car care, from coloring cards to community singing—(all this called "learning by doing")—and to all levels of education from the elementary class to the research seminar—as long as children and adolescents are excluded. Nothing is gained by the equally sweeping claims that are being made for what adult education can accomplish. "Given the basic purposes of helping the individual achieve wholesome integration and growth in his internal being and adequate behavior in relation to his social world, adult education is most effective when it beneficially affects the way the individual behaves in relation to himself, to others, and to the many groups and social systems in which he has some kind of membership." This would do equally well as a definition of everything else, from teaching clean habits to babies through boyscout training and all the way to membership in a benevolent burial association. In any case, it calls for quite a curriculum.

Another assignment comes from the office of the U.S. Commissioner of Education: "Providing knowledge and commenting about marital sex-life; about home management, including budgeting, system and organization of housekeeping, and family chores; about family recreation; about interpersonal and inter-group relations between and among parents and children, parents and grandparents, children and grandparents, and between primary family members and other relatives; about diet, and physical and mental health; about preperation for aging; and in providing guidance to the childless parents."

All very well—but guidance, counseling, and problem-solving are not education.

In order to avoid the obvious snare of such generous generalities and strange specifications, all types of such education as well as of belated education shall also be excluded. If the term "adult education" is to have any meaning, despite its grammatical awkwardness, it should refer to the subject as well as the method, the subject matter as well as the schedule. It should be limited to people of biological and mental maturity, elusive though even these terms are, and it should be geared to such maturity. The main element that distinguishes adults from adolescents is experience. Any education that fails to take it into account cannot be called "adult." It also wastes its greatest potential asset, as all those know who taught the veterans of the last war, or who are really doing a job of adult teaching.

There is nearly always an excuse and often a need for the manifold activities that unfortunately go under the name "adult education." I do not want to minimize or even criticize them if I deny them a claim to their label. Remedial reading may be as important for one adult as the supervised riding of his hobby horse is for another—it may be adult, but is it education? One can accept all this under many other names, and welcome the results for many reasons. There is only one exception: any kind of pastime that poses as equally legitimate is nothing but an interloper and should be banned. The education we are concerned with has been called "for the educated" by Alvin Johnson. This means it presupposes a selection—but not through entrance examinations or other devices, but through a decision of the student himself, who finds a program not meant for everybody but right for him.

The combination "adult education" makes sense only if it refers to education that is essential, not merely incidental, and if it excludes entirely those other incidentals that are quite accidentally connected with the educational enterprise. Consequently higher adult education indicates a level beyond all the well-defined stages of regular education, regardless of whether they be passed earlier or later in life. Mark the word beyond; it is not above college and especially graduate education for a profession. But it has to be distinguished from them as well as from extension work in evening colleges and universities which provide adults with something they could as well have gotten earlier but missed, unless it needs the term adult as an excuse for converting an academic institution into a service station.

Still what is meant by "higher adult education" is difficult to explain. It begins where other education ends. It is one among many forms of self-education, supported by previous training and instruction and information which in themselves may not have been real education but provided the means for making it possible. Training, instruction and information fill the mind, whether they form it or not. Real education is the kind of intellectual enterprise that aims at forming the mind yet may fill it in the process. It develops style as the true expression of self-understanding, not as a facade for lack of it. It is an attempt to use intelligence for the purpose of personality development. This is a deliberate choice, since there are many other methods known to man that are supposed to serve the same end,—and, as plenty of people think, more successfully.

It is difficult to express more concretely what "personality development" through intellectual rather than physical efforts is aiming at. In modest words that are much older than adult education, it can be described as "the courage to change what can and should be changed; the serenity to accept what cannot be changed; and the wisdom to know one from the other."

The spokesmen of organized adult education are not much interested in higher adult education as a means to such an end. The "Leadership Pamphlets" published by the Adult Education Association have titles like these: How To Lead Discussions, Understanding How Groups Work, How To Use Role Playing, Conferences that Work, Getting and Keeping Members, Effective Public Relations, and nine others of the same kind. Another series, the Adult Education Monographs, deal with the Fact-Finding Conference, Yardsticks for Human Relations Training, and Civil Defense for Adult Americans. Thus adult education is being encouraged in its weaknesses and supported in its confusion, and the great impetus it receives from longer life and more leisure is largely wasted, if not entirely lost, in haphazard, half-hearted, or only semi-serious activities on the one hand, and in purely practical and utterly uncritical programs on the other. And yet more and more people are passing or will soon pass through college, and at least to this extent will qualify for something better than they are likely to get. If it is true that there are "five billion adult leisure hours in the United States" every week, what possibilities if only one-tenth of them were available for higher adult education! This figure depends on how many hours of a person's week are allocated to leisure if the average working week is 35 or 40 or even 44 hours. Anyway, there are more than 100-million adults above the age of 24 in the United States. The rest everybody can figure out for himself. The aim of education has been defined as "the wise use of leisure." If American education were to include this among its many purposes, what wiser thing to do in one's spare time could it suggest than further education?

Once formal education is ended this "wise use of leisure" becomes the more important because the earlier phases tend to shift from the humanities to the time-consuming training for the many highly skilled functions that our complex civilization requires. Many of these functions in turn consume knowledge but do not create it. They demand the kind of performance that is primarily repetitive rather than recreative. This trend threatens to transform learning and doing into just different kinds of the same drill. Only adult education can afford to be informal, irregular, and—horrible dicta—impractical, and thus provide the liberating experience that compensates modern man for his robot routine.

The place of higher adult education is a distinctive one also in relation to other types of education for adults. It is impossible to postulate in detail its role in a future when, for better or for worse, adult education is likely to become the last refuge of liberal education. Anybody who watches this change cannot but be awed by its possible implications. But unless what I term "higher" in adult education is identified, its place explored, and its function clarified by thought and trial, it will be toppled by the rapids and swallowed by the still murky waters of the swelling stream called the "adult education movement." If specialized education is going to precede general education, thus leaving the latter entirely to the chances of later adult life, then higher adult education has several possible advantages, provided it is liberal. It can make better use of the conditions of adult life. To quote from the New School Statement of Purpose:

> "The process of learning, too often and despite many correctives, exposes the young to knowledge before they can explore it for themselves, to abstractions before they can experience reality, to history before they can be aware of the present, and to passive acceptance in wide areas where they cannot yet become active.
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> "Adult education has an opportunity to reverse this sequence. The adult student, in his capacity as parent, professional, voter and taxpayer, is concerned with the present because he knows it. With part of his life already consciously spent he is also interested in the past because he is connected with it in his own experience. He is eager to test and to apply knowledge to his many practical tasks. He is aware of the complexities of life because, unlike the young college student, he is not protected by the somewhat artificial arrangements of the campus or the classroom."

Higher adult education can avoid the battle between vocational and general education that is raging on every level. For the adult who is seeking higher education of the kind we are discussing this conflict is closed. He has been prepared for his place in life through whatever education he received. He can now afford to think of an education with less aims and more ends. It would be folly to introduce at this stage once more the issue of "professional versus liberal" education. An adult can take every conceivable type of specialized course, from the elementary to the graduate level, in order to improve his expertness and professional performance, and thus enhance his economic prospects. But this is no longer a matter of choosing a profession and preparing for it; it is part of it. Since there are neither parents nor principals, neither school boards nor boards of directors, to make the decisions for him, all the adult student has to do is to choose higher adult education, if he wants it and can take it. All we have to do is make it worth his while.

Higher adult education is voluntary. Presumably it follows formal education. Hence it can avoid and may even help to correct shortcomings of the system that shapes the earlier stages. What are they? In criticizing one is apt to indulge in generalizations and exaggerations; but this is excusable if not pardonable as the indispensable shorthand one uses in order to save time and space. Others have done so before. "What the learned world tends to offer is one second-hand scrap of information illustrating ideas derived from another second-hand scrap of information. The second-handedness of the learned world is the secret of its mediocrity," says Whitehead. It is not difficult to imagine a higher adult education entirely freed from prescribed subject matter and professional purpose so that it can go back to first-handedness for the basic ideas and skip the second-hand detail which the adult is even less likely "to meet afterwards in exactly the same form" than is the adolescent. Thus unity can come to those scraps from earlier education that are either applications learned by rote, without grasp of ideas, or countless points of information lost in empty space without co-ordinates. Of course, theoretically this could be done on any level; practically, though, it has been tried and is being tried mainly on the college level. The mere fact that all such programs are still called "experimental" indicates their limited reach. American education produces what has been called "one of the most dangerous persons: the uneducated specialist" (and there is evidence to support this) or "merely well-informed man" whom Whitehead regards as "the most useless bore on God's earth." Those will agree who saw some quiz wizards on television display an incredible amount of information unrelated to any knowledge, sense of proportion, understanding, or interpretation. They would also agree that higher adult education has a function in changing such products of our traditional system. Information that leads to self-education can grow into knowledge when it relates to a set of values and remains within the perspective of history.

Even strict specialization, which is as essential as technical skill, can thus be permeated with the spiritual and moral concerns of the society that it serves.

Lest I seem starry-eyed let me repeat that I fully realize how much education depends on the social structure within which it works. However, I think higher adult education can be more free-wheeling than any other kind. Therefore it can to some degree have effects beyond its immediate educational purpose, dependent, of course, on how strong its liberal philosophy, and how many students it can reach and affect with it. Given a chance, it can even counteract defects of our civilization. It is impossible to avoid arbitrariness in naming some of them. Take boredom. According to experts, in time of war and violence the curve of mental cases drops because something absorbing is happening. In normal times boredom afflicts people to the point of distraction. Even "self interest becomes quite uninteresting." Could not an education which is not forced to apologize nor assigned to "socialize," revive or stimulate an intellectual interest that can compete with visceral reactions? Take that other trouble fashionably called "alienation." One feels powerless, and political association makes no difference; one feels inefficient, and becoming skilled is no cure; one feels useless, and psychology has no answer. Higher adult education can evoke the joy of thinking for the sake of understanding, the excitement of stretching one's mind in order to reach out, and the satisfaction of turning from the practical to the philosophical. If it comes into its own it will empty many a psychoanalytical couch and psychiatric chair. It has been suggested that education should help each student "to lose himself in interests, causes, and ideas larger and more enduring than he." I would rather see adults find themselves in all this, in great art and thought, for once far beyond the merely personal, factual, and useful.

However, in order to accomplish this, higher adult education cannot look at the adult as an incipient mental case. Unfortunately the professional language of adult education uses ominous terms like "diagnosis, block, resistance, transference, anxiety, repression" and prefers non-intellectual concepts like "involvement, group action and identification, emotional appeal, visual aid, integration, harmony, adjustment, pressures, forces." I do not mean to object to such terms where they may be proper, from kindergarten to post-graduate studies. But why should adults, who have been through all this and have survived it, not be regarded as endowed with normal reason and reasonable reactions unless proven silly or abnormal?

Psychotherapy may be educational, but I do not think that adult education can be equated with it. One hopes that education can have therapeutic effects where they are needed; but therapy should never become an end in itself, in place of education. And why should adult education be the preferred playground of group dynamics? Often this is an excuse for remote control of the group from the outside, and an invitation to individual laziness within. Does adult education have to accept the salesman's notion that what people want is not content but wrappings? Experts complain that in adult education "all too typically the content expert is overemphasized while other needed teacher roles are typically underemphasized or even ignored." But I see the real danger in the opposite direction and I think higher adult education can avoid it.

If one is inclined to join the many careful observers who find fault with the tastes and standards promoted if not actually created by our mass civilization, one can take comfort from the prospect of a higher adult education that may well develop a new awareness of dignity and beauty, of integrity and truth in language and thinking, in experience and creation, in attitude and action. Once enough adults have relearned to appraise and appreciate quality, adult education can hold its own against the sugary cheapness of most entertainment.

Again, is it justified to assume such a distinct role and such a promising potential? The greatest asset of higher adult education is its relative independence. It is less a "function" of society than are all other forms of education, which are compulsory and organized. Its widely distributed diversity protects it against the pressures of economics and politics and against the influence of cliques and clans. It is also more immune against our social climate with its preference for conformity. Hence, higher adult education does not need large establishments with centralized authority as liaison with the powers that be. The emphasis placed in professional training for adult educators on administration, budgeting, and organization is all wrong. (But so is the whole role of the unhappy education-administrator in America.) It does not have to succumb to the "playroom to clubroom" idea of adjustment that does deprecate any hard-feelings and thus eventually excludes any real emotions. It does not have to prefer pragmatic to moral judgments. It can help the student to develop intellectual and aesthetic discrimination; thus it can fortify him against the lure of quacks, bigots, and "hidden persuadors." This is more important than televised credit courses. Nothing against television as medium for true adult education, and preferably a higher one. But this is quite different from a 13-weeks, one hour each, morning lecture on television that gives as much "credit" as heavier classwork. After all, television permits anybody who can pay for it to do what he wants, including attempts at mass hypnosis and risks of mass hysteria.

Adult education is voluntary. This is a great asset for yet another reason: it has no part in the competition for prestige where parents push their offspring and presidents try to push the output of their institutions. The social tensions that grow out of such ambitions are thus kept out of its sphere. The resulting social relaxation can make for intellectual intensity. Being voluntary, adult education is not constrained to respect any taboos or to shun any controversial issues. Only when it gets too much involved in, or even controlled by, other types of education will it have to share their caution. But then it loses all advantages and becomes nothing but an extension, be it of a regular curriculum set up for a different purpose, or of an institution like church, party, trade union, or what have you. This does not mean that adult education cannot serve large identifiable groups like labor or management and meet their particular intellectual interests in addition to general ones. But that is a far cry from instruction on how to sell somebody's products. Fortunately, there is no promise of tangible rewards in higher adult education if it does not serve narrow aims. Hence it has little implied power and is not likely to attract those interests that could misuse it. With no ROTC, no campus chapel, and no older generation looking back to a better past, it is relatively free from interference. Therefore it can lift its sights higher than mere secular education; it can care about more, and care more deeply. No landlord, as it were, keeps reminding it of a tenant's obligations.

To be thus more remote from the ephemeral excitements and more insulated against the changing currents that emanate from its environment is not only an asset. These very same circumstances place a heavy mortgage on it. In every form adult education is marginal. An adult's interests center elsewhere: at home, on the job, or in other pursuits. He is only a part-time participant during an hour a day, a day a week, some weeks a year, or a year out of a long life. This is true for student and teacher alike because the student has to become somebody first before he can permit himself a less purposeful education, and the teacher has to be an expert before he can turn his talents toward a wider field. "The" student and "the" teacher are even more fictitious in adult education than they are as abstractions from all colleges, or all graduate schools, or from any one university. Programs and plans in adult education hardly ever affect anybody except piecemeal. "Curriculum" is a misnomer, for very few run the whole stretch and finish the course. Thus adult education remains complementary. It cannot profit from the compelling motives that operate on all other levels. But for the same reason it does not depend on any formal requirements. Its difficulties are external and not inbred. This is an essential characteristic by which it is distinguished from other types. Consequently most assertions and criticism made about them are not applicable here.

To be sure, all levels of education are closely connected. If "society teaches its young so as to enable them to become successful adults," then obviously the need for adult education depends on what preceded it as proper preparation for what is meant by "successful." But even if there were agreement, and even if this aim were fully achieved, and this were all that regular education could do, it would be only another argument in favor of still more adult education. For obviously such meager results would have to be complemented and modified. To return to Durkheim's formula, "education consists of a methodical socialization of the young generation" (which is far more refined than its one-sentence summary indicates), the trouble is that American education often continues this successful socialization of the young beyond adolescense, and on into the alumnus stage. Consequently it becomes the more necessary to embark in adult education on the individuation of the adult. The more efficiently he is first adjusted to his culture, the more he needs then to internalize it. The more lastingly fixed his place is in a society that allows ever more security and less adventure, the more he needs intellectual mobility. This can be restored through higher adult education. The professional can become an amateur in a different discipline. Perhaps it is not amiss to recall that the amateur is one who loves what he is doing, and the dilettante one who delights in his part-time field of endeavor. The specialist can aspire to become a generalist if he feeds on more than a few grains from the fields of other people's competence. Laxity can change into tolerance which—in the technical sense of the word—implies both some latitude and its very definite limits. Permissiveness can develop into the autonomy of the adult. In this specific setting the teacher need neither usurp nor abdicate the role of leader, if only he "accepts the life and work experience of the student as providing some basis for judgment and for appraisal of principles and values" and does not insist on "literary, technical, and historical information as the sole criterion."

It is a difficult—and maybe hopeless—attempt to trace with words the inchoate and confusing growth of adult education so that it can be projected into the future. Again I shall use quotations as hints at the place that higher adult education can occupy. "A progressive society depends on its inclusion of three groups—scholars, discoverers, inventors. Its progress also depends upon the fact that its educated masses are composed of members, each with a tinge of scholarship, a tinge of discovery, and a tinge of invention," according to Whitehead. Education as it is does not, and I am afraid cannot, bring this about. But higher adult education can if it does not become utilitarian. With apologies to deTocqueville whom I am badly paraphrasing, "it would seem as if the educators of our time sought only to instruct students in order to make things great; I wish they would try a little more to make great men; that they set less value on what can be produced, and more value upon the producer." Such a changed approach is difficult where the purpose of education is to man and handle the intricate machinery of modern society. But it is possible where higher adult education concerns itself with the meaning, not with the mechanics of human existence.

By now you may think all this is a figment that can never become fact. Those who participate in education as we practice it at the New School will agree that we deal with ideas. If so, adult education has yet another advantage over the traditional types. It is uniquely immune against inertia. Whitehead claims that "education with inert ideas is not only useless but harmful;" he would find the greater liveliness of adult education encouraging. I sense a fascinating relation between our experiences and a further remark which Whitehead makes in this context: "except at rare intervals of intellectual ferment, education in the past has been radically infected with inert ideas. That is the reason why uneducated, clever women who have seen much of the world, are in middle life so much the most cultivated part of the community. They have been saved from this horrible burden of inert ideas." Adult education can count on women and men who may have had little real education but have seen much of the world and thus been saved from inert ideas. And more than that: we are in a time of intellectual ferment; the commotion is beginning to spread over the whole world like atomic fallout; it is potentially explosive like the atom bomb. Strictly regulated education can hardly profit from ferment; but higher adult education can.

At the same time it needs protection against confusion, cheapening of standards, superficiality and other hazards that are heightened by its lack of cohesion and continuity. Therefore it should test itself constantly against its neighbors on either side, undergraduate and graduate education. There can be mutual comparison of curricula, methods, and results without any risk for the one to become dependent on the other, let alone subjected to it. Such continuous contact between higher adult education and formal academic education seems to me a fundamental condition for the healthy growth of which both are in need. It is on this assumption that I am so anxious to ready the New School's curriculum and structure as much as possible for the interplay between higher education of the college and university kind on the one hand, and higher adult education on the other, and why I hope the New School can add a full college both as an extension of adult education, and as a trial of its usefulness and attractiveness for adolescents. With such an addition our educational scales would be balanced.

Even under the most favorable circumstances adult education cannot transcend the conditions of time and place. Therefore it cannot do without compromise between concept and contingency as well as between ambition and accommodation. Thus there are some things in our program that do not fit the definition and description of higher adult education which seems to me consistent and convincing. But not every deviation from the straightest route is an error, for he who wants to use an adverse wind has to tack. He still has to steer his course between a point of departure that is irrevocably given and a point of arrival that must be within his reach.

Precisely because it is part of the new forces that shape our society while they are shaped by it in continuous interaction, adult education has its singular opportunity now—and so has the New School, provided it is not, like so many other enterprises in adult education, simply carried along. Somehow we have to curb and control this outpouring of unpredictable magnitude. As an organization the New School seems hardly big and strong enough for such a task. But as a receptacle it has structural strength. Though the flood seems overwhelming we can catch and contain some of it, and then release again what otherwise would run off and dry up. But even if we can do this successfully, our problems are not solved. To use Walt Whitman's emphatic language: "it is provided in the essence of things that from any fruition of success, no matter what, shall come something to make a greater struggle necessary."